The 'publicness' of the 1990s Public Spaces in Britain with a special reference to Newcastle upon Tyne

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Abstract

Public spaces, which have been one of the integral components of cities for centuries, have become subject to broad concern for more than two decades. Particularly under the shadow of globalisation and privatisation, attractive and alluring public spaces have been placed at the centre of the major world cities and the old-industrial cities competing as part of a search for new niches in the competitive urban markets. Starting from the late-1970s, the significance of public spaces has also been increasingly recognised by the central and local governments in Britain. A number of 'well-designed' public spaces were developed especially through the regeneration and revitalisation schemes of the derelict lands of industrial estates, declining waterfronts and city centres. The recent interest in British public spaces is a promising sign, as the decline and decay had lately become their predominant characteristics. Nevertheless, it raises major questions about their 'publicness'. As an outcome of these questions, this thesis focuses on the problem of the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces in Britain. It concentrates on the two recently developed public spaces in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. By employing the case study method as a research strategy, this research, first, examines the history of the two public spaces, as well as their physical, psychological, social, political, economic and symbolic roles and problems just before the recent redevelopment schemes began. Then, it analyses the 'publicness' of the recent development schemes of both public spaces through i) planning and design, ii) construction, iii) management and maintenance, iv) use phases with regard to the criteria of 'access', 'actors' and 'interest'. Here, it mainly tries to see whether the 'publicness' of the public spaces has reduced or increased with the recent development schemes. Finally, comparing one case to another, it seeks to show the similarities and differences of both public spaces in terms of the change in their 'publicness' with the recent development schemes. The findings of the research lead us to draw the conclusion that, with the recent development schemes, both cases turned into 'good-looking' and 'well-maintained', but 'less' public spaces than they used to be.

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Abbreviations

ACP – Arts and Culture Panel

BCN – Breach of Condition Notice

BF - Business Forum

GMA - Grey's Monument Area

GT – Grainger Town

GTP - Grainger Town Project

HAT - Highway and Transportation

HBS - Haymarket Bus Station

M&S – Marks & Spencer

NCC - Newcastle City Council

PTE – Passenger Transport Executive

PUDs – Planned Unit Developments

RF - Residents Forum

S&N Breweries – Scottish & Newcastle Breweries

SoS - Secretary of State

TNI – The Newcastle Initiatives

TWDC – Tyne and Wear Development Corporation

UDP - Urban Design Panel

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Problem definition

Public spaces have been one of the major components of cities for centuries. They have functioned as the main communication channels, binders of various activities and buildings of the city (Moughtin, 1999). By being a symbol to a community, they have given identity to the whole city (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Lynch, 1992; Moughtin, 1999). By having a distinctive look accompanied with aesthetic elements like artworks and soft landscaping, they have beautified cities (Carr, et. al., 1992). Public spaces appeared in a number of forms under different names and evolved throughout history in various civilisations. By being social, economic and political centres of cities, they have contributed to a wide range of human life from psychological to social, political and economic levels. As Lynch (1992) and Loukaitou-Sideris (1988) note, they have contributed to the mental and psychological health of human beings. By being a common ground for social interaction, intermingling and communication, they have brought together different groups of people regardless of their class, ethnic origin, gender and age (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Tibbalds, 1992; Carr, et. al., 1992; Madanipour, 1995). Besides, public spaces have been part of the political arenas of cities. They have functioned as the places for political actions and representation for centuries (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Carr, et. al., 1992). Additionally, public spaces have played an important role in the economic life of cities by simply being the place for commercial exchange (Lofland, 1971). Later on, they have become the means for marketing and regenerating localities with their economic value generator roles (Madanipour, 2000).

In today's cities, especially those in North America and Europe, there are two types of public spaces which show completely different characteristics. In some parts of these cities, there are public spaces which face severe decay and decline. They lose their vitality and complexity, and become deserted areas. The decentralisation of urban functions accelerates this trend, leads the public spaces in the city centre to lose their centrality, and gradually turns them into under-used and empty places (Thomas, 1991). The new, large, self-referential and defensible urban developments particularly encourage the growth of this trend. By turning their back to traditional streets and internalising street-level activities, the new retail, housing and office uses (such as

shopping malls, atria, gated residential developments and business parks) which are built in either the city centre or out of the city show no tendency to unite with the conventional public spaces. Punter (1990) argues that such developments intend to reduce their relations with public spaces to the minimum level and encourage spatial fragmentation. In the same scene of today's cities, it is possible to see neglected public spaces. Some of today's public spaces are negatively influenced by the severe financial difficulties which the public authorities have experienced to provide public services since the onset of the decline of the welfare state (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Madanipour, 1999). They have been neglected and deprived of maintenance services. Consequently, unprotected underpasses, anonymous multi-storey car parks, empty city centres, badly-lit streets, parks full of graffiti, litter and broken windows become the common scenes in some public spaces of cities (Loveday, 1998). Such public spaces lose their attractiveness. They become deserted places, or places which are dominated by the 'wrong kind of people', such as winos, beggars, indigents, rowdy or drunken youths, who create fear and anxiety (Tiesdell and Oc, 1998). They turn into fearful and intimidatory places to avoid especially due to the increasing crime, deviant behaviour and civil disorder (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Carr, et. al., 1992; Miethe, 1995; Madanipour, 1999). Such public spaces are one of the prominent problems of today's cities.

In the other parts of today's cities in North America and Europe, however, beautiful and distinctive public spaces are placed at the centre of the urban landscape. Since the late-1970s and early 1980s, particularly the cities which have transformed into major 'world cities' by specialising in service and technology-based activities have witnessed the rise of new, attractive and alluring public spaces within their spectacular landscape (Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993). Similarly, some old industrial cities and regions in North America and Europe which have gone through a period of transition from heavily-industrialised economy to post-industrial economy have placed attractive and impressive public spaces in their new urban landscape, mainly shaped by the urban regeneration projects and city-marketing and imaging programmes (Hubbard, 1995; McInroy, 2000; Madanipour, 2000).

These new public spaces, which can be called 'new-generation public spaces', are characterised by their 'good design' which is enriched by high quality construction materials, artworks, and design elements (Punter, 1990; Crilley, 1993; Boyer, 1993; Hajer, 1993; Cybriwski, 1999). They are articulated with themes which provide them with a strong visual identity (Crawford, 1992; Hajer, 1993; Defilippis, 1997). The visual identity is also emphasised by the use of different architectural styles or the copy of the world-famous artefacts in the design of some public spaces (Sorkin, 1992; Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993; Cybriwski, 1999). Besides, the design of some recently developed public spaces is based on the simulation of a fantasised world, while some

others are designed with emphasis on the historical and cultural legacy of localities (Crawford, 1992; Sorkin, 1992; Crilley, 1993; Hajer, 1993; Philo and Kearns, 1993; Defilippis, 1997; Cybriwski, 1999).

The public spaces with similar characteristics have also been built in Britain. Since the early 1980s, public spaces started to be seen as the major components of urban regeneration projects and city marketing and re-imaging programmes (Madanipour, 1999; McInroy, 2000). Subsequently, attractive and impressive public spaces started to appear in the urbanscape of a number of British cities, such as London, Birmingham, Sheffield, Glasgow, Nottingham, Liverpool and Manchester. Public spaces also began to be considered important in the city centre regeneration schemes. In addition to the policies of creating '24-Hour Cities', developing 'café culture' and evening economy of city centres, the development of good-looking, safe, clean, and better-lit public spaces started to be recognised as an important strategy to create and enhance the viability and vibrancy of city centres (Reeve, 1996; Oc and Tiesdell, 1998; Loveday, 1998). As a result, beautiful, exclusive and distinctive looking public spaces, enriched with high quality construction materials, artworks and design elements, were built in the city centre of many British cities.

The development of the public spaces with such qualities is a promising sign, as the decline and decay had become their predominant characteristics for a while. Yet, this also brings remarkable questions about the 'publicness' of the new-generation public spaces. There are a number of researches which hint that the 'publicness' of the recently built public spaces has been undermined in various aspects. Some researchers, such as Loukaitou-Sideris (1988), Punter (1990), and Madanipour (1999) note the shift of the design, management and maintenance of public spaces from the public to private control. Traditionally, public spaces were "publicly acquired, created, owned, controlled and managed" (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). However, the recent change in the control of new public spaces from public to private agencies undermines their 'publicness'. Besides, it is also possible to find various researches which underline the strict control which has been introduced into public spaces under both public and private control. Punter (1990), Loukaitou-Sideris (1993) and Crilley (1993) point out that the user groups and activities are closely monitored in the privately managed public spaces, and those which do not conform with the management standards of appropriateness are not allowed to these public spaces. Boddy (1992) and Boyer (1993) note the similar control attitude in the public spaces under public control. Thus, the accessibility of all segments of the population to the new public spaces has been reduced by the new management policies which are set by private and public agencies. This is also a significant indication with regard to the decrease in the 'publicness' of new-generation

public spaces. Another indication in terms of the 'publicness' of public spaces is related to the public interest which the new public spaces serve. McInroy (2000) argues that the public spaces which are produced within the context of urban regeneration projects, city-marketing and image-building programmes do not serve the benefit of local community. Similarly, some scholars such as Loukaitou-Sideris (1993), Crilley (1993), Boyer (1993), Boddy (1992), Hajer (1993) and Defilippis (1997) claim that the new public spaces serve a 'homogenous' public and promote 'social filtering'. According to Crawford (1992), Boyer (1993), Hajer (1993), Defilippis (1997), and Madanipour (1999), different from the conventional public spaces which gather various people together, the new public spaces enhance gentrification, social alienation and isolation. There are, therefore, a number of researches which suggest that the 'publicness' of the new public spaces have been undermined in various aspects. This indicates the need to investigate the issue of 'publicness' of these new public spaces. As an outcome of such a necessity, this research focuses on the question of the 'publicness' of new-generation public spaces.

1.2 The scope and objectives of the study, research question and propositions

The main concern of this research is to examine the question of the 'publicness' of the new-generation public spaces, particularly the ones which were built in the centre of British cities in the 1990s. Hence, the main research question is how far such public spaces are 'public'? In order to answer this question, this research seeks to achieve three major objectives. One of these objectives is to introduce a time dimension into the definition of the 'publicness' of public spaces and to explain why we need to consider public space as a four-dimensional concept. The second objective of this research is to propose a model (an approach) which will help us to assess the 'publicness' of a public space. For this purpose, this research seeks to propose the variables (or criteria) which will enable us to define the concepts of 'public space' and 'private space'. Finally, this research aims to define the relation between 'public space' and 'private space'. In doing so, this research seeks to show that the relation between these two types of space consists of various degrees of 'publicness' and 'privateness'.

On the basis of these objectives, this study mainly proposes that the extent of the 'publicness' of the public spaces which were constructed in the 1990s depends on the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. More specifically, this research proposes that, regarding the criterion of 'access', how far a public space is 'public' depends on how far public space is open to everyone; and how far the activities and discussions or intercommunications in, and the information about the development and use processes and the resources of public space were/are open to all. Concerning

the criterion of 'actor', this study proposes that how far a public space is 'public' is dependent on the public-private nature of the actors who control the development and use processes. In other words, how far a public space is 'public' depends on how far it is owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed and maintained by public actors; and how far it is used by the public. When the public-private nature of the actors, who are involved in the development and use processes, are taken into account, this research argues that how far a public space is 'public' depends on how far the public and public actors are involved in the planning, design, construction, management and maintenance phases. That is, this PhD study proposes that how far a public space is 'public' depends on how far the space is developed through the presence of a public forum, in which the public and public actors are involved in order to express, exchange and influence opinions and decisions with regard to the public space which is to be built. Finally, with regard to the criterion of 'interest', this study proposes that how far a public space is public depends on how far the newly built public space serves the 'public interest'.

1.3 Research methodology

A multiple-case study method is used as a research strategy for this study. The case studies of the research are carried out in Newcastle. As the case studies of this research, the Haymarket Bus Station (HBS) and the Grey's Monument Area (GMA) are examined as the major public space improvement schemes of the 1990s in the city centre of Newcastle. In the first part of the empirical study, this research focuses on Newcastle in order to clarify the context within which the selected studies are to be investigated. It examines the history of Newcastle as a city which has experienced a transition from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrial city. It also studies the recent regeneration policies, strategies and schemes which were recently carried out and which are still being undertaken in the city centre. Additionally, this part includes the examination of the roles of the public spaces within these policies, strategies and schemes. In the second part of the empirical study, this research concentrates on the two public spaces. It first studies each case individually and analyses the 'publicness' of each public space under four stages of the development and use processes; i.e., a) planning and design, b) construction, c) management and maintenance, and d) use, through the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. After the examination of each case individually, the research compares the HBS to the GMA in order to find similarities and differences with regard to the change in their 'publicness' with the recent development schemes. The case studies are based on documents, archival records, interviews and direct observations as the sources of evidence. The research methodology, which is briefly described in this section, is fully explained in Chapter 4.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The research consists of eight chapters. Chapter 2 aims to define the roles of public space in urban life and investigates their changing roles and significance throughout history. It first describes six roles of public spaces which are physical, psychological, social, political, economic and symbolic. Then, it examines the public spaces and their evolving roles with regard to three historical periods: i) the pre-industrial period (Before the 18th century), ii) the industrial period (early-18th century – late-1970s), and iii) the post-industrial period (the late-1970s – today).

Chapter 3 focuses on how to define the 'publicness' of public spaces. It studies the concepts of 'public' and 'private' in depth in order to provide a background to define 'public space' and 'private space', and the relationship between these two types of space. For this purpose, it examines the meanings of 'public' and 'private' in the past; it studies the various philosophical views which explain public-private distinctions. On the basis of this in-depth investigation on the concepts of 'public' and 'private', the second half of this chapter introduces the approach of this research to the concepts of 'public space' and 'private space'. First, it tries to introduce the approach of this research to the concept of 'space' by defining it as a four-dimensional entity. Second, it describes the public space model of this research, which enables us to define 'public space' and 'private space' and the relationship between these two types of space.

As for Chapter 4, it is about the research methodology of this study. It introduces case study approach as the research strategy, and explains the reasons for selecting this approach as a research method. It also identifies the type of case study which is carried out by this research. It clarifies the reasons for carrying out this research in Newcastle, and the reasons for examining the HBS and the GMA as the units of analysis. Additionally, this chapter describes the sets of data which were collected, the purpose for which each set of data was collected, and the sources of evidence which were used to collect each set of data. Then, it particularly concentrates on two data sources which are interviews and direct observations, and explains in detail how these data sources were used in this research. Finally, the chapter explains the analysis method which was used in this research and summarises the difficulties which were experienced in this research.

Chapter 5 seeks to link the gap between the regeneration and revitalisation strategies and policies in the city centre of Newcastle and the 'publicness' of public spaces which have recently been developed in the city centre. First, it tries to define three periods which Newcastle experienced in the transformation from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrial city. Second, this chapter concentrates on the image-building and city-marketing campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s to

promote Newcastle as a post-industrial city. Then, it considers the recent urban regeneration and development projects which have resulted in drastic change in the urbanscape of the city centre. The last part of this chapter is dedicated to explaining the increasing interest in public spaces in relation to the recent regeneration schemes and policies of the local authority.

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 concentrate on the examination of the 'publicness of the HBS and the GMA. The analyses of the 'publicness' of the recent development schemes of both cases start with the description of the location, history, as well as the physical, psychological, social, political, economic and symbolic roles, and problems of these public spaces, before the recent development schemes took place. This is followed by the analyses of the 'publicness' of the recent development schemes which are examined under four stages: i) planning and design, ii) construction, iii) management and maintenance, and iv) use through the criteria of 'actor', 'access' and 'interest'. The third sections of Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 conclude the findings of the analysis of the 'publicness' of the HBS and the GMA public space development schemes.

When Chapter 8 is considered, it aims to compare the 'publicness' of the HBS and the GMA, and seeks to find out the similarities and differences in the 'publicness' of both public spaces. On the basis of this aim, first, this chapter examines the similarities and differences in the main characteristics of both public spaces and their problems before the recent development schemes took place. Then, it tries to find out the similarities and differences in the 'publicness' of these public spaces with respect to their development and use processes according to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'.

Finally, Chapter 9 concludes the thesis. It provides an overview of the research by summarising the initial focus of the research, the research question and propositions, and research methodology. Second, it summarises the findings of the research. Then, it outlines and explains the theoretical and practical implications of the research. At the end, it indicates the advantages and disadvantages of the public space model put forth by this study and makes recommendations for future research.

This thesis also includes two appendices. Appendix A aims to supplement Chapter 4. It shows the data which was collected for this research, and the purpose for and the means of collecting the data. Appendix B seeks to supplement Chapter 7. It includes the detailed analysis of the public-private nature of actors for the case of the GMA.

Chapter 2: Evolving roles and significance of public spaces

2.1 Introduction

This chapter mainly aims at defining the roles of public spaces in urban life and investigating their changing roles and significance throughout history. The first part describes six roles of public spaces which are physical, psychological, social, political, economic and symbolic. The second part of the chapter focuses on the changing and evolving roles and significance of public spaces in history. Here, public spaces and their evolving roles are examined with respect to three historical periods. The first period, which focuses on public spaces of the 'pre-industrial city', comprises the period which began with the ancient Greek cities and which ended in the late-17th century. The second period examines public spaces of the 'industrial city'. It covers a period of time which started with the Industrial Revolution in the early 18th century and which ended in the 1970s. Finally, the third period concentrates on public spaces of the 'post-industrial city', focusing on the period of time starting in the late 1970s and continuing to today.

2.2 The roles of public spaces

Public spaces play a wide range of roles, which can be classified as physical, psychological, social, political, economic and symbolic. The following sections explain these roles.

2.2.1 Physical roles

If we consider that the city is made up of public and private spaces, the public space becomes an inevitable component of the city. Seen in various forms, such as streets, squares, plazas, market places and parks, public spaces play a number of physical roles. First of all, streets, boulevards and avenues are the major communication channels of the city. They are the means of moving objects, people and information from one sector to another (Carr, et. al., 1992: 30; Gehl, 1996). Thus, public spaces serve as links between activities and buildings (Moughtin, 1999: 131). Without them, the activities in a city are like floating objects on the sea (Carr, et. al., 1992: 26).

As well as their communication role, public spaces provide the places for a 'variety' and 'diversity' of activities. Moughtin explains this role of public spaces with a special reference to squares as follows:

> (*Squares are*) ... the setting(*s*) of a civic building; the principal meeting places; places for great ceremonial occasions; spaces for entertainment around buildings such as theatres, cinemas, restaurants and cafés; spaces for shopping, shopping streets, arcades and markets; spaces around which offices are grouped; spaces of a semi-public nature around which residential accommodation is arranged; and finally, the spaces associated with urban traffic junctions. (Moughtin, 1999: 88; italics added).

Similarly, Czarnowski (1982: 207) defines the street as "the principal place of public contact and public passage, a place of exchange of ideas, goods and services, a place of play and fight, of carnival and funeral, of protest and celebration". Being places of various economic, social and political activities, public spaces hold, therefore, different activities together.

Another role of public spaces is to differentiate open spaces in a city. Ellis (1978: 18) argues that public spaces, particularly streets, provide us with the opportunity to develop a variety of open spaces with a range of uses from public to private. For example, backyards at the rear of buildings, communal and semi-private spaces are some open space types which are developed by the presence of streets (Ellis, 1978: 18). Further, public spaces function to beautify the city (Carr, et. al., 1992: 12). They improve and enhance the aesthetic quality of the city (Carr, et. al., 1992: 10-11; Thompson, 1998: 106). Moughtin, et. al. (1999: 31-48) stress the importance of decorated building facades, sculptures, fountains and other city ornaments in terms of enhancing the aesthetic quality of the city. Giving various examples from Western European and North American cities, Moughtin, et. al. (1999) examine different types of streets and squares which beautify cities with the architectural characteristics of the façades of buildings and other decorated elements such as sculptures and fountains, as well as their functions, character and meaning. Finally, public spaces contribute to create ecologically healthy environments (Thompson, 1998: 106). With vegetation, they can ameliorate an unfavourable micro-climate; and they can increase air turbulence, filter dust particles, direct cooling down and cleansing breezes (Thompson, 1998: 106). In this sense, public green spaces are inevitably physical components of cities.

2.2.2 Psychological roles

Human beings have needs which contribute to their mental and psychological health. Public spaces satisfy these needs in various forms. First of all, Thompson (1998: 106) notes a deep psychological need in human beings for contact with green open spaces, by pointing out some research which proves that postoperative patients recover more quickly, and need fewer

analgesics if they convalesce in a ward which has a view of trees. In this sense, public green spaces significantly contribute to the physical and psychological health of people. Second, public spaces contribute to the personal development of human beings (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 7). In public spaces, individuals find the chance to demonstrate mastery, to meet challenges and to run a risk (Lynch, 1992: 397, 402). Lynch (1992: 402) claims that "there is a profound satisfaction to be had in proving oneself, in seeing the results of one's own efforts, and these experiences are an important part of the process of growing into a human being".

The rhythm of relaxation and tension is another human need. Public spaces provide the rhythm of relaxation and tension which is desirable for the psychological and mental health of human beings (Lynch, 1992: 405). Relaxation provides relief from the stresses of daily life (Carr, et. al., 1992: 12). Lynch (1992: 397) argues that public space is "a place of relaxation, of stimulus release in contrast to the intense and meaning-loaded communications encountered in the remainder of the city". Walking on a beach, sitting in a park, running on a promenade are all activities that individuals can do in public places and provide them with the opportunity to change their daily routine, and get away from their daily worries. In addition to being an arena for relaxation and release, public space provides shocking stimulus (Lynch, 1992: 404). For the psychological and mental health of human beings, a complete relaxation and release is not desirable (Lynch, 1992: 403). 'Shocking' stimulus is desirable, because it increases the chance of direct confrontation and spontaneous reaction which leads people to be confronted with new sights and learn about others (Lynch, 1992: 397, 404). In this sense, public spaces provide stages for social learning and information exchange (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 77).

Another role of public spaces is to provide arenas for 'social interaction', places for active and social engagement with others (Lynch, 1992: 397-398; Carr, et. al., 1992: 19). Social interaction promotes individual well-being (Carr, et. al., 1992: 19). Besides, it enables the people to discover 'self', 'others' and 'environment' (Lynch, 1992: 398; Carr, et. al., 1992: 19). In other words, social interaction helps individuals to understand their place in natural ecosystems, and to develop their understanding of physical and social orientation (Lynch, 1992: 398). Finally, public spaces lead to the emergence of a sense of personal continuity. For Francis and Hester (1990, cited in Carr, et. al., 1992: 20), "a continuously used public space with its many memories can help anchor one's sense of personal continuity in a rapidly changing world".

2.2.3 Social roles

Walzer (1986: 470) defines public space as "a world of strangers"; "a space we share with strangers, people who aren't our relatives, friends or work associates". By welcoming everyone,

public spaces bring together different groups of people regardless of their class, ethnic origin, gender and age, making it possible for them to intermingle (Madanipour, 1995: 46). This characteristic makes public spaces common grounds for social interaction, intermingling and communication. It is possible to find a number of definitions of public spaces with regards to this social role. For example, Tibbalds (1992: 1) defines public spaces as the places "where the greatest amount of human contact and interaction takes place". The definition of Carr, et al. follows a similar line:

> Public space is the stage on which the drama of communal life unfolds. The streets, squares, and parks of a city give form to the ebb and flow of human exchange. (Carr, et. al., 1992: 3)

Gehl (1996) defines public space as a place to meet other people socially. Since public spaces provide a great variety and diversity of people and groups with the opportunity to come together, interact and intermingle, they help "the formation of the richest quality of a multi-class, multi-cultural, heterogeneous society" (Carr, et. al., 1992: 45). On the other hand, public spaces carry out educational, informative and communicative roles to strengthen public life. People, coming from different segments of the society, interact and learn about each other in public spaces (Carr, et. al., 1992: 45; Montgomery, 1997: 86). This is an important step for the emergence of the 'social coherence' between diverse groups, and for the creation of community life (Walzer, 1986: 470; Moughtin, 1999: 131). In this sense, public spaces provide common grounds to bind a community (Gutman, 1978: 250). For some scholars, like John Ruskin (1878), Robert Venturi, et. al. (1962) and Alison Smithson (1967), public spaces can even create community life where it may not have existed previously (cited in Gutman, 1978: 253). This is another characteristic of public spaces which shows their inevitable role in social life.

2.2.4 Political roles

There are two key features which enable public spaces to contribute to the political aspect of human life. The first is to act as the place of 'freedom' and 'spontaneity'. Lynch (1990: 396) states that "open spaces are 'all those regions in the environment which are open to the freely chosen and spontaneous action of people'". Amos Rapoport also puts his emphasis on the freedom which public spaces provide.

> ... one can see open space as such, if it allows people to act freely. Open space might then be seen as providing freedom to enter and move through lack of restriction and obstruction –whether physical or through rules of 'ownership' or 'occupancy', not being too determined being responsive and not overdesigned, and allowing people to act freely in it. (Rapoport, 1977; cited in Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 46)

The second feature of public spaces is to be open to all. These two characteristics enable public spaces to develop and promote 'democracy'. Being open to everyone and accommodating 'freely chosen' and 'spontaneous' action of people, public spaces encourage people to use and participate in the public arena (Moudon, 1987: 23). People find the opportunity to act freely, represent themselves and interact freely with others in public spaces. In this sense, public spaces provide people with arenas for political action and representation (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 7). Disagreements and conflicts become clearly visible; public discussions are held in public spaces (Carr, et. al., 1992: 45). For this reason, public spaces provide healthier arenas to resolve disagreements and conflicts than to keep them in private (Carr, et. al., 1992: 45). In addition, they serve to facilite free society civility and public resolve (Carr, et. al., 1992: 45).

2.2.5 Economic roles

From the Agora of the *polis* and open market places of Medieval cities to today's shopping malls, corporate plazas, atria and festival places, public spaces have been the major places where commercial activities have taken place (Gehl, 1996). Public spaces of the pre-industrial city, as the main arenas for commercial exchange, were full of wandering vendors (Lofland, 1971: 61). The increasing specialisation and diversification in commercial activities led the commerce to take place in dedicated and covered places in cities (Lofland, 1971). Nevertheless, public spaces have kept their economic significance for cities. They accommodate a number of activities which turn them into attractive and inviting places for a large number of people. Commerce has always intended to be close to public spaces in order to benefit from this great coming and going (Lofland, 1971: 61).

Another economic role of public spaces is their influence in the economic value of urban land. More specifically, they can increase the land value of the activities which surround them, as long as they are kept in good condition. Particularly nowadays, with their economic value generator role, public spaces are increasingly seen as a crucial means to add value to speculative developments, both in terms of amenity and commerce (Thompson, 1998: 108-109), and to market and regenerate localities (Madanipour, 2000).

2.2.6 Symbolic roles

Public spaces are the components which can become symbols for a group of people, or a society (Jacobs, 1965: 29; Carr, et. al, 1992: 20; Moughtin, 1999: 88). In this way, they can give a character, an identity to a city, as stated below:

> Streets and their sidewalks, the main public spaces of a city, are its most vital organs. Think of a city and what comes to mind? Its streets. If a city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull. (Jacobs, 1965: 29)

As well as the general image that public spaces can give of the city, there are some public spaces which are associated with the public images of the cities to which they belong. Piazza San Marco in Venice, the Spanish Steps in Rome, Trafalgar Square in London are such public spaces. Similarly, there are streets with a special connotation to a city. Ellis (1978: 123) calls such streets 'special streets':

> The notion of special streets is inherently one of relationships more than of properties. For example, Regent Street in London is a special street in terms of shopping and a famous street in terms of its general reputation as a designed object; and so for the avenue des Champs-Elysée in Paris, the Via del Corso in Rome, Fifth Avenue in New York City, and so on. ... They tend to produce relative differentiation in the surrounding street systems. This structuring function tends to increase a sense of place in the organisation of cities in that it helps to structure them into wholes; it tends to reduce the likelihood of random, limitless organisation. (Ellis, 1978: 123)

According to Montgomery (1997: 89), public spaces may contain elements which appeal to or represent 'higher order values' for example sacred or symbolic meeting places. The public spaces used for religious purposes are the prominent examples. Carr, et. al. (1992: 20) and Moughtin (1999: 88) argue that the build-up of overlapping memories of individual and shared experience turn public spaces into symbols. Carr, et. al. (1992: 47-48) also claim that public spaces, particularly historical places and monuments, evoke "connections to past events that stimulate feelings of national pride, of a sense of belonging, of concern for an entity outside of one's primary associations with family and friends". These feelings, which are associated with past events, generate symbolic meanings and values of public spaces. How public spaces become a symbol for a group of people, society or societies is a complicated research question, which is not the concern of this research. What is important here, however, is the fact that public spaces become symbols for a group of people or a society, since they represent cultural, historical, religious or other social and political values for them. Loukaitou-Sideris (1988: 6) argues that, with their symbolic meanings, public spaces contribute to the creation of the sense of continuity for a group, or a society. Consequently, these feelings bind the individual members of the group or society together (Lynch, 1992: 397; Moughtin, 1999: 88). For this reason, public spaces have become "the place where the major public works, the major public expenditure and the greatest civic art is located" (Moughtin, 1999: 88).

2.3 Public spaces in history

Public spaces have always been one of the major components of cities. Appearing under different names and evolving throughout history under the domination of various civilisations, public spaces have contributed to different aspects of human life. This section mainly examines the public spaces in European and North American cities starting from ancient Greece to the present time. It seeks to explain the evolving and changing roles of public spaces with reference to the social, economic, political and technological developments and tries to provide a background to the examination of the 1990s public spaces.

2.3.1 Public spaces of the pre-industrial city

This section investigates public spaces of the pre-industrial city starting from the ancient Greek city to the city at the end of the seventeenth century. The key feature of public spaces of the pre-industrial city is their central role in cities. They were placed at the centre of urban life with their physical, social, political, economic and symbolic roles.

2.3.1.1 Types of public spaces

One of the first public spaces, which appeared in Europe, is the 'Agora' as the focus of the *polis* (i.e., the ancient Greek city). It was the secular market, a meeting place for daily communications, formal and informal assembly and the place for social entertainment (Mumford, 1961: 148; Carr, et. al., 1992: 52). It combined so many important functions –law, government, commerce, industry, religion, sociability- that it became the most vital and distinctive element in the *polis* (Mumford, 1961: 148). With the growth of the *polis*, open-air gymnasia and theatre, where sports and dramatic performances were held respectively, were added to the urban landscape (Carr, et. al., 1992: 53). Kitto (2000: 31) argues that the physical form of the *polis* stressed spacious and beautifully constructed public spaces, in contrast to private houses which were low and turned away from the street.

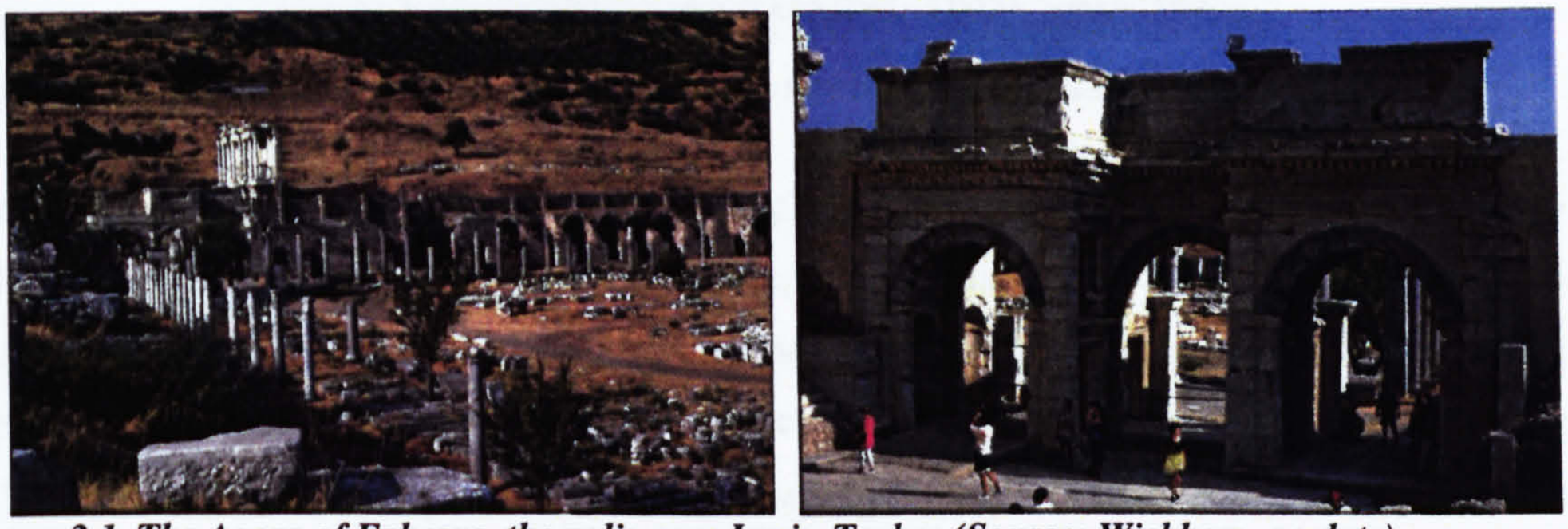

Figure 2.1. The Agora of Ephesus, the polis near Izmir, Turkey (Source: Wickham, no date)

Public spaces in Roman cities were also seen as vital as the ones in the *polis*. The Forum, as the main public space, was the centre of the Roman city (Carr, et. al., 1992: 53). It was not only an open space, but a complex which incorporated "enclosed, semi-enclosed, and open spaces for commerce, religious congregation, political assembly, athletics, and informal meetings" (Carr, et. al., 1992: 53).

> The forum was not simply an open square. As it developed in Rome, it was rather a whole precinct, complex in layout, in which shrines and temples, the halls of justice and council houses, and open spaces framed by stately colonnades played a part. Within these open spaces orators could address large crowds; while for inclement weather large halls, basilicas, served in many capacities. … whatever took place in the market square might take place in the basilica, though it was chiefly devoted to business transactions and the administration of justice. The simplicity of the forum itself lent it to a variety of purposes: not least, finally, to that of a religious congregation. (Mumford, 1961: 221-222)

In Roman cities, there were different types of forum, as can be seen in Figure 2.2.

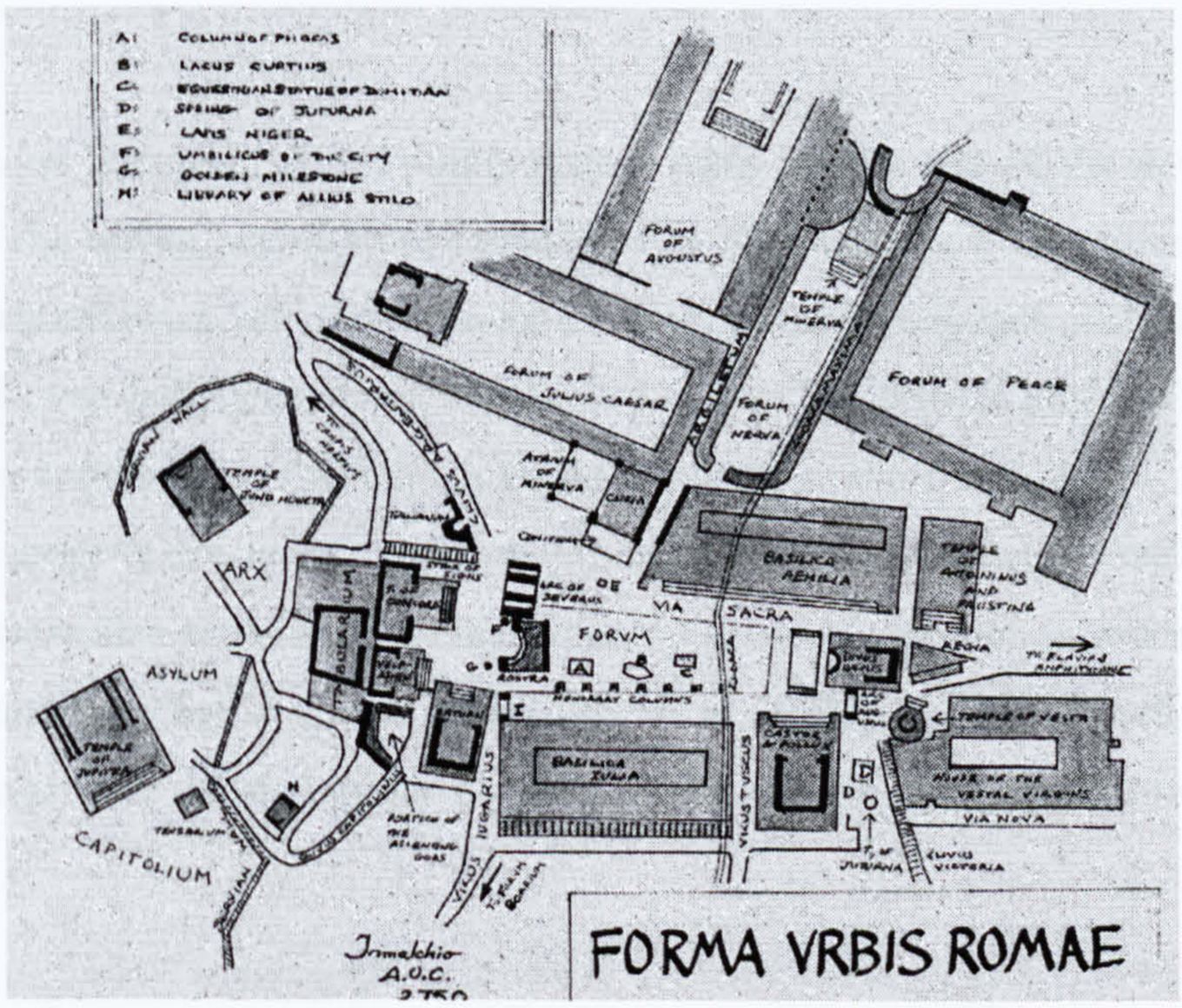

Figure 2.2. The map of Rome showing different types of forum (Source: Helphand, no date)

When the medieval city is considered, the market place is the major public space which comes to mind. With the revival of trade, the market place appeared outside the town wall of the medieval city (Carr, et. al., 1992: 54). As the city grew, the market place was relocated adjacent to the cathedral (Carr, et. al., 1992: 54). The market place functioned as the commercial centre of the city. The early market places were only open spaces where stalls were set up. With the increase in market activities, the number of market places rose, and individual shops were developed (Carr,

et. al., 1992: 54). The medieval market place was not only the place for commerce, but also for the performance of the mystery plays, the punishment of criminals or heretics and great tourneys (Mumford, 1961: 307). Apart from market places and cathedral squares, medieval cities contained civic squares or piazzas adjacent to town halls to express civic dignity (Carr, et. al., 1992: 54). There were also playgrounds which were located at the edge of town and used for the purpose of outdoor recreation (Carr, et. al., 1992: 54, 60).

Following the disorganised, chaotic medieval public spaces, the Renaissance city developed carefully planned and formally designed squares and plazas as symbols of civic and religious pride (Carr, et. al., 1992: 55-56). Starting in the 16th century, the Renaissance squares and plazas were accompanied by straight and wide streets for the commercial vehicles to move easily within the city and for political requirements to ease military movement through the cities (Carr, et. al., 1992: 58). Later on, these wide avenues and boulevards became major gathering points for all classes (Carr, et. al., 1992: 58). In addition, the Renaissance city contained public spaces without a human touch, such as large fields which had no connection to the surrounding city (Carr, et. al., 1992: 56).

In the same way as European cities, public spaces were the focuses of the new settlements in North America. The towns, which were established by the Spanish, were centred around a main plaza used as a market place, and the arena for a variety of other purposes, including celebrations, tournaments and even bullfights (Carr, et. al., 1992: 57). The typical plaza of these cities was surrounded by an arcaded street which contained the town's major buildings – the main church, town walls and shops (Carr, et. al., 1992: 57). Similarly, the towns which were established by English settlers were also established around a central green or common in order to serve diverse purposes, from cattle grazing to militia drills (Carr, et. al., 1992: 57). The church or meetinghouse and civic buildings were located either on the common or directly adjacent to it (Carr, et. al., 1992: 57).

When the new settlements grew in North America, in the 16th and 17th centuries, European cities witnessed the emergence of various types of outdoor public spaces for recreation purposes. One of these public spaces is the royal garden and ground which first appeared in France and England in the 16th century (Carr, et. al., 1992: 62). The earliest ones were highly formal and geometric in design, while the ones built in the 18th century were more informal, to simulate a vision of a romantic countryside scene (Carr, et. al., 1992: 62). The garden of Chateau de Chantilly is a significant example for such green spaces. It was first designed as a Renaissance garden in 1550 and transformed into a baroque garden by Andre le Notre in 1663 (Author unknown, no date1)

(Figure 2.3). In the late 17th century, pleasure grounds were built throughout Europe and later America (Carr, et. al., 1992: 61). They contained "diverse elements such as intricately landscaped gardens, small waterbodies, outdoor concert grounds, restaurants, and elaborate architectural features" (Carr, et. al., 1992: 61). In the same century, squares bounded by residential quarters emerged to serve the residences which surrounded them (Carr, et. al., 1992: 56). In the late 17th and early 18th century, a new idea emerged in England to develop fine urban neighbourhoods in conjunction with new spacious landscaped parks (Carr, et. al., 1992: 62). These parks, like Regent's Park in London, aimed at serving the houses around them, rather than the city or town (Carr, et. al., 1992: 62). These public spaces, which were built for the use of aristocrats and the affluent, were occasionally open to the public (Carr, et. al., 1992: 62). Nevertheless, the squares and plazas, streets, boulevards and avenues of the pre-industrial city were busy as the major gathering places.

Figure 2.3. Garden of Chateau de Chantilly as an example of outdoor open spaces, designed for recreation purpose and which mainly served aristocrats and affluent people (Source: Crawford, 2001)

2.3.1.2 Characteristics of public spaces of the pre-industrial city

Public spaces of the pre-industrial city were at the centre of urban life with their physical, social, symbolic, economic and political roles. First of all, they were the inevitable components of cities with their physical functions. Juxtaposing and overlapping, various and diverse activities took place in these public spaces. Lofland (1971) describes four kinds of activities which occurred in public spaces of the pre-industrial city. The first type of activities is the one which occurred in the traditional public spaces and now takes place in private or semi-private spaces (Lofland, 1971: 55-56). The activities to eliminate body wastes, deliver punishment, stage executions and promote education are such activities. For example, in ancient Rome, primary school was conducted on the street, "under the awning outside some shop and invaded by all the noises of the street from which

only a screen of tent cloth separated it" (Carcopino, 1940: 105). The second type of activities includes those which used to take place in public spaces of the pre-industrial city, but disappeared in the modern city due to the technological advances such as water collection, garbage disposal, distribution and collection of news (Lofland, 1971: 58). As for the third type of activities, it consists of the ones which occurred in the traditional public spaces, but now take place in specialised public locations in the modern city, such as buying and selling, entertainment and public pageantry and ceremonies, political meetings and discussions, individual religious expression (Lofland, 1971: 61). Finally, the public spaces of the pre-industrial city contained some activities which still take place in the public spaces of the modern city, however these occurred more frequently in traditional public spaces (Lofland, 1971: 62). Hanging around, sitting, watching and spending time, socialising, playing on the public spaces are some of these activities (Lofland, 1971).

As well as the role of accommodating a wide range of activities, traditional public spaces connected activities together. They were the major communication channels of the city. The distribution and collection of news in medieval Prato is a good example of how the public spaces were used for the purpose of communication.

> The town crier, *il banditore*, hurried from one street corner to the next, to spread the day's news: birth and weddings and deaths, bankruptcies and emancipations, lists of lost property and lost cattle, even applications for wet-nurses –while more important official news was imparted by three trumpeters on horseback, dressed in the colours of the Commune, who blew a treble blast on their trumpets before announcing the sentences of the courts of law – banishments and fines, and sometimes executions. (Origo, 1957: 59)

Walking is another activity which turned public spaces to communication channels.

> Walking was undoubtedly the most constant of activities. Only the rich could afford litters or horses and although many working people had access to carts, in the narrow streets and alleys they were probably more of an impediment than a convenience. No telephones, telegraphs or regular postal services sped messages across space. If one had anything to say to anyone, one went to see him. Securing water and food (no refrigeration), getting rid of garbage and wastes, inviting a friend to dinner, all such myriad activities in which humans engage, all required walking. (Lofland, 1971: 64)

Another role of walking was to help townspeople to set up close relations with their physical environment (Lofland, 1971: 64). This helped people not only to understand their place in the natural ecosystem, but also to develop their understanding of physical and social orientation.

In addition to the physical and psychological roles, public spaces of the pre-industrial city centred on urban life with their social role. They attracted a great variety of people and groups because of

the activities such as water collection which involved a good deal of coming and going (Lofland, 1971: 58). Besides, traditional public spaces accommodated a large number of people hanging around and waiting to involve themselves in whatever was happening (Lofland, 1971: 66). While Lofland (1971: 63) calls them a 'floating population', Holmes (1966: 37) names them 'ribauz' and 'good-for-nothings'. The following describes these people in twelfth-century London:

> The ribauz, or good-for-nothings were always on the edge of a crowd. They begged and plundered at the slightest provocation. They hung around outside the door of the banquet hall when a large feast was held. (Holmes, 1966: 37)

As well as the floating population, entertainers, wandering vendors, children and particularly the residential population of these streets were the other actors of this scene (Lofland, 1971: 65). Lofland (1971: 63) notes that because most residences in the pre-industrial city were cramped and unpleasant compared to modern standards, the vast majority of the urban populace preferred 'going out' to 'staying in'. As a consequence, a great deal of socialising occurred in public spaces. For this reason, streets, plazas, squares and market places were full of people from all classes, occupations and age (grades) (Lofland, 1971: 67). The following description of a medieval street is particularly notable, in terms of traditional public spaces as the places which brought all segments of the population together to intermingle.

> In the medieval town, the upper classes and the lower classes (had) jostled together on the street, in the marketplace, as they did in the cathedral: the rich might ride on horseback, but they must wait for ... the blind beggar groping with his stick to get out of the way. (Mumford, 1961: 370)

The public spaces, which contained a great deal of variety and diversity in terms of people and groups, became inevitable components of the pre-industrial city, in terms of social interaction and integration, the creation of community life and the emergence of the social coherence between these people and groups.

Public spaces of the pre-industrial city were not only the social, but also the commercial centres of cities. The Agora, Forum and medieval market place were the main places where buying and selling took place. As mentioned earlier, Renaissance streets were the major channels, which eased the movement of commercial vehicles within the city. As well as their key role in the commercial life of the city, they were also used as the economic value generator. In this sense, the squares surrounded by residential quarters and the landscaped parks developed next to the fine urban neighbourhoods in the 17th and 18th centuries are remarkable examples.

Apart from the economic functions, public spaces were at the centre of urban life with their political role. They were the places for political discussions and decisions, political action and

representation. As Lofland (1971: 62) points out, "wherever the rule of the elite was less than absolute, the city's streets and plazas and market places were also the scenes of political meetings and discussions". It was not unusual to see disagreements and conflicts among various groups in public spaces of the pre-industrial city. Medieval streets, for example, always witnessed considerable conflicts "between residents and shopkeepers who wished to encroach on streets, and city governments who wished to prevent this" (Carr, et. al., 1992: 57). In this sense, these public spaces were not peaceful places. However, they were the arenas where disagreements and conflicts became visible and were resolved rather than being kept in private.

Finally, public spaces were also crucial components of cities with their symbolic role. Their symbolic meanings which were associated with cultural, historical, religious, social and political events, instances and artefacts led them to play crucial roles in the pre-industrial city (Mumford, 1961: 221-222; Lofland, 1971: 61; Carr, et. al., 1992: 52). For this reason, they became the places for public ceremonies or festivities, human or animal sacrifices, punishments and executions and individual religious expressions (Lofland, 1971: 53-62). According to Lofland (1971: 53-62), the activities taking place in public spaces used to give their symbolic meanings and values. For example, in twelfth-century Venice, small tabernacles were placed at many corners in public spaces, and a lamp was lit to honour a saint (Comhaire and Cahnman, 1962: 62, cited in Lofland, 1971: 62). This lamp gave public spaces a religious value. Similarly, shrines which were placed in public spaces used to perform a similar function.

Briefly put, the public spaces were the inevitable components of the pre-industrial city with their physical, psychological, social, symbolic, economic and political roles. They were neither peaceful, nor clean, hygienic or ordered places. In fact, they were dirty and disordered. Yet, they used to accommodate a wide range of activities. Connecting activities and people together, they used to perform as the communication channels of the pre-industrial city. They were not only physical, but also social binders of the city. They brought a great variety of people from all classes, occupations and ages together. Hence, they provided the arenas for social interaction, the creation of community life and the emergence of social coherence between diverse groups and people of the society. With the higher values attached to them, public spaces were crucial with their symbolic roles. As well as their physical, social and symbolic functions, they played a central role in economic and political aspects of urban life.

2.3.2 Public spaces of the industrial city

In spite of the key role in the pre-industrial city, public spaces of the industrial city were pushed from the centre to the periphery of urban life, and their significance and roles in the city were

constantly diminished. The following sections examine this process of change in the public spaces which occurred in the industrial city, starting from the Industrial Revolution to the 1970s.

2.3.2.1 Urban parks, boulevards and tree-lined avenues

Starting from the 18th century, the landscape of cities drastically changed due to the Industrial Revolution, which brought about environmental pollution caused by unregulated industrial enterprises, unsanitary conditions resulting from a lack of municipal sewer and water supply systems and the overcrowding that led to various forms of ill-health and moral depravity (LeGates and Stout, 1998: 301; Madanipour, 2000; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 5). The working-class districts of Manchester in the 19th century are a good example of the unsanitary and unhygienic conditions of the industrial city, as described below:

> If we briefly formulate the result of our wanderings, we must admit that 350,000 working-people of Manchester and its environs live, almost all of them, in wretched, damp, filthy cottages, that the streets which surround them are usually in the most miserable and filthy condition, laid out without the slightest reference to ventilation, with reference solely to the profit secured by the contractor. In a word, ... in the working-men's dwellings of Manchester, no cleanliness, no convenience, and consequently no comfortable family life is possible; that in such dwellings only a physically degenerate race, robbed of all humanity, degraded, reduced morally and physically to bestiality, could feel comfortable and at home. (Engels, 1844: 54)

The highly deteriorated physical and social conditions of cities caused the emergence of various urban movements in the second half of the 19th century. These urban movements mainly aimed at creating clean and healthier environments; and they considered public spaces as a means to produce healthy, sanitised and better urban environments and to improve the social conditions of cities. One of the earliest movements is 'The Park Movement' which started in the first half of the 19th century in order to bring nature into the cities. Birkenhead Park in Liverpool, which was built in 1844, was the first urban garden, complete with recreation areas for sports (LeGates and Stout, 1998: 302) (Figure 2.4). A year after the opening of Birkenhead Park, Victoria Park was opened in London (LeGates and Stout, 1998: 302). It was enlarged in 1872 to encompass more than 200 acres of gardens, walkways, ponds, meadows and woods (LeGates and Stout, 1998: 302). Following the opening of the parks in European cities, urban parks also appeared in American cities. The first park in America was Central Park in New York, which was built in 1863 (LeGates and Stout, 1998: 302). It was followed by other large, landscaped parks, which were built in most American cities throughout the second half of the 19th century (Carr, et. al., 1992: 61).

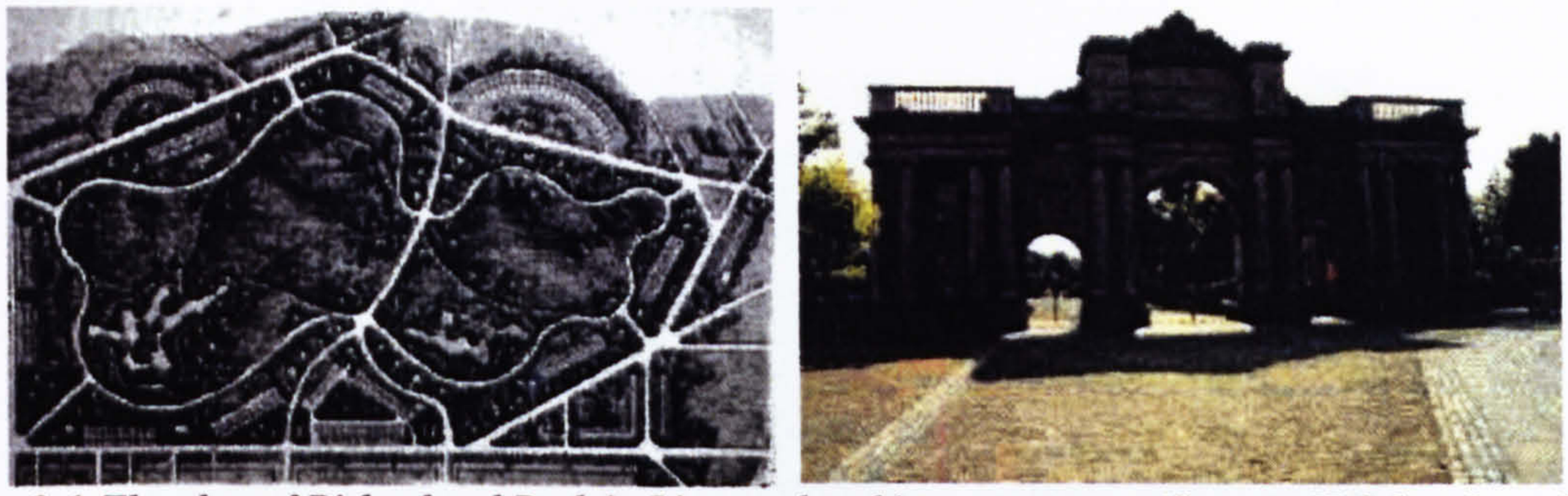

Figure 2.4. The plan of Birkenhead Park in Liverpool and its present gate (Source: Helphand, no date)

Urban parks brought aesthetics into the city. For instance, Central Park was "one of the most successful examples of the enhancement of urban space by the intervention of artfully designed nature" (LeGates and Stout, 1998: 302). In addition, they were multi-functional spaces. On the one hand, they were rich in terms of the variety and diversity of recreational activities. Central Park, for example, contained formal gardens, elegant esplanades, walkways, picnic sites, playgrounds and the sites for entertainment where concerts could take place (LeGates and Stout, 1998: 302). On the other hand, they contributed to the public health by serving as the 'lungs' of the city; their ponds and reservoirs served as adjuncts to municipal water-supply systems; and they softened and tamed human nature, by providing wholesome alternatives to the vulgar street amusements that daily tempted poor and working-class youth (LeGates and Stout, 2000: 296). Therefore, urban parks were built to improve the environmental quality of urban space and to function as social engines. In addition, being open to the public, urban parks provided a significant improvement in the democratisation of landscape gardening traditions (Carr, et. al., 1992: 61; LeGates and Stout, 1998: 302; LeGates and Stout, 2000: 296).

Another urban movement of the 19th century is the development of boulevards and tree-lined avenues, which first appeared in Paris. The 1859 Project of Baron Haussmann resulted in a significant amount of demolition in Paris between 1850 and 1860 in order to give way to the boulevards and avenues which connected both existing suburban parklands such as the Bois de Boulogne and the Bois de Vincennes and new parks such as Montsoris and Buttes-Chaumont (LeGates and Stout, 1998: 302). These boulevards and avenues which were originially built for military purposes, also brought about environment enhancement, the improvement of traffic, the connection of monuments and key streets, and the need for relief from the squalor and overcrowding of inner Paris (Boddy, 1992: 130). By slicing problematic inner-city neighbourhoods into more manageable units, they also functioned as the separators between different components of city (Boddy, 1992: 131). Additionally, being lined with beautiful buildings, they became symbols of cities, as in the case of the Champs-Elysée in Paris. Kaerntnerring in Vienna is a fine example of such boulevards as can be seen in Figure 2.5.

Figure 2.5. Kaerntnerring in Vienna as a fine example of boulevards (Source: Crawford, 2001)

Following their European counterparts, in the 1890s, The City Beautiful Movement introduced strong axial arrangements and magnificent boulevards into American cities (LeGates and Stout, 1998: 305). These boulevards, which contained impressive civic buildings, such as city halls, libraries, museums and courthouses, aesthetically improved cities (Carr, et. al., 1992: 59). They were not as busy as the boulevards and avenues of European cities (Carr, et. al., 1992: 59). Nevertheless, they were the major places for social interaction, communication and political presentation.

Urban parks, boulevards and avenues improved the declining physical and social conditions of the industrial city, but they could not be the comprehensive solution for the problems of rapidly industrialising cities. The Modernist Movement aimed to achieve this target.

2.3.2.2 Public spaces of the Modernist Movement

Parallel to urban movements such as the Garden City Movement, the New Towns in both Britain and America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, CIAM's Charter of Athens led to the initiation of the Modernist Movement which aimed at creating clean, healthier and better environments and providing new images for 'modern' cities (Jacobs and Appleyard, 1987; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 6; LeGates and Stout, 1998; LeGates and Stout, 2000; Madanipour, 2000). The Modernist planning and design principles recognised public spaces as the means to improve the physical and social conditions of the highly industrialised city and proposed new types of public spaces to replace traditional ones. The 'road' is one of these public spaces, which was not only to supplant the filthy, unhygienic and unsafe streets of the industrialised city, but also to be the symbol of the modern city and life by simply being dedicated to automobiles and serving as the channel for fast movement (Ellis, 1978: 18; Jacobs and Appleyard, 1987: 492; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 6; Gutman, 1978: 256). 'Vast green land', containing skyscrapers, is another type of public

space which was to create an urban landscape with 'more light and air', 'decongestion' and 'lower residential densities' (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 5). Finally, based on the design principles of the separation of pedestrian and vehicular roads and functional zoning, the advocates of the Modernist Movement proposed 'specialised roads', such as those for only pedestrian or vehicular traffic, service lanes, secondary collector roads, main roads and parkways (Boddy, 1992: 133; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 6; LeGates and Stout, 1998: 308).

Public spaces of the Modernist Movement are characterised by the over-emphasis on some of their physical functions, such as the roles of bringing 'order' into the chaotic and disordered city, providing environmental enhancement and being the communication channels of the modern city. Yet, they lost the qualities of enclosure and spatial coherence in their design (Celik, et. al., 1994: 6; Madanipour, 2000). As a result, they were deprived of the roles of connecting activities and creating a variety of open spaces from public to private (Moudon, 1987: 16; Madanipour, 2000). Besides, the symbolic roles of these spaces were promoted; whereas their psychological, social, political and economic roles were impoverished. By creating 'single-function' public spaces, the public spaces of the Modernist Movement were deprived of diversity, spontaneity and surprise, especially for the person on foot (Jacob and Appleyard, 1987: 493). These public spaces, which lost their attraction for people, no longer served as the social arenas for bringing people together, interacting, intermingling and communicating. The impoverishment of the social roles of public spaces was also encouraged by the dominance of the car in public spaces (Francis, 1987: 23). The automobile has not only led individuals to drive in a private compartment; but also has resulted in the loss of the contact of people with the physical space (Schumacher, 1978; Francis, 1987: 23; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 24; Carr, et. al., 1992: 5). This has diminished and degraded the life in the street (Carr, et. al., 1992: 5). Moreover, the availability of mass transit and the widespread ownership of cars made it much easier to get away for recreation, and created less desire to use street space as the locus for casual social interaction (Gutman, 1978: 256; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 24). Furthermore, public spaces of the Modernist Movement failed to fulfil their political roles, since they were deprived of 'freedom' and 'spontaneity'due to their strict design. Finally, they failed to perform as the economic value generator, since unattractive roads and motorways, vast green lands which turned to unsafe and derelict places caused the decline in the land values of the activities around these public spaces.

In sum, the Modernist Movement led to strongly emphasise some of the physical and symbolic roles of public spaces, while stripping off the psychological, social, political and economic roles of these places. Consequently, as some British townspeople described, 'mediocre, appalling, inhuman, banal and boring' public spaces became common in almost all British cities, as well as

other European and North American cities (The Report How Do You Want to Live, 1972; quoted in Tibbalds, 1992: 6).

2.3.2.3 Standardisation of the design of public spaces

Another trend which resulted in the over-emphasis of the physical roles of public spaces is the standardisation of public spaces. The standardisation of public spaces was the extension of two approaches, one of which is the recognition of public spaces as the tools for providing clean, healthier and more beautiful urban environments. The other was the manifestation of the capitalist production in the provision of public space. The design of public space was standardised in order to produce as many public space as possible, just like any other manufactured goods. Based on these approaches, small active playgrounds for children started to appear particularly in the densely populated districts of American cities toward the end of the 19th century (Carr, et. al., 1992: 64-65). As well as the working-class neighbourhoods, between 1930 and 1965, too many playgrounds with a standard design (containing swings, slides, seesaws, a jungle gym and benches, on an asphalt surface) were developed for the growing middle class in cities and towns across America (Carr, et. al., 1992: 66-67).

The standardisation of public spaces simplified, therefore, the rich and complex roles of public spaces into a single function and led to the impoverishment of the social, symbolic, political and economic roles of public spaces.

2.3.2.4 'Deserted' and 'fragmented' public spaces

2.3.2.4.1 Slum clearance and inner city programmes

After the Second World War, the city centres of many British and European cities were destroyed through slum and city centre clearance programmes and reconstructed using the Modernist planning principles (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 9). Within the process, the conventional city centre, which was characterised by the overlapping and interweaving of activities and areas and a rich variety of user groups, lost its vitality and complexity (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 9). The new city centre which was developed according to the Modernist planning principles became only a place of business. It was a crowded place only in the day time, while becoming a deserted area at night (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 9). Consequently, deserted and under-used streets and squares appeared in city centres. This trend was also strengthened by mono-functional office blocks. With a limited number of entrances, these blocks have kept the office workers inside the buildings and internalised much of the traditional activities of the street (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 9). Similarly,

'off-the ground pedestrian networks'[1], which consisted of elevated bridges or underground tunnels, have provided an alternative to the conventional street network and thus have become the rival of public spaces on the ground. Thus, by keeping people inside, reducing street-level activities and decreasing the commercial activities on traditional streets, it has caused the decline in the vitality of conventional public spaces (Boddy, 1992: 147). The off-the ground pedestrian network has later become a common type of quasi-public spaces of the post-industrial city, as will be explained in section 2.3.3.2.

The destruction and reconstruction of the new city centre through slum clearance and inner city programmes brought about 'deserted' public spaces in the city centre which later turned to fearful, threatening and intimidatory places due to the increase in crime and 'undesirable' population (Tibbalds, 1992: 1).

2.3.2.4.2 Decentralisation of urban functions

Another important phenomenon which gave rise to the emergence of 'under-used' and 'fragmented' public spaces is the relocation of major urban functions outside the central city (Thomas, 1991: 218; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 10). Starting from the 1950s, the decentralisation of residential, industrial and retail uses has caused public spaces to lose their centrality in the urban structure (Thomas, 1991: 218). Suburbanisation especially began the decline in the use of the existing public spaces in the central city by pulling people out of the city centre, moving families from the central city and thus dispersing the community life in the central city (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 7). In addition, suburbanisation promoted private ownership and a new life style which strongly encouraged private ownership (Francis, 1987: 3). This led to more emphasis on the private garden which became the typical outdoor facility for each house, while reducing communal outdoor places (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 19; Carr, et. al., 1992: 5).

As well as suburbanisation, the appearance of new retail units like suburban shopping malls in the 1950s also caused the decline of public spaces, especially those in the central city. These retail units, which provided protected environments for shopping and leisure, not only attracted

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[1] In addition, 'off-the ground pedestrian networks' first appeared in the 1960s, mainly in North American cities such as Montreal, Calgary, Dallas, Minneapolis, New Detroit, Miami and San Francisco as open and closed elevated pathways in order to link towers with each other or mazes of tunnels that led from public transit areas to workplaces without recourse to conventional streets (Boddy, 1992: 124-125). The primary reasons for creating such a network were: 1) to be the symbol of the modern city; 2) to provide efficient movement of pedestrians from vehicles and to protect citizens from harsh climatic conditions that make conventional streets unbearable (Boddy, 1992: 124, 136, 142); 3) to add a new level of retail space, 4) to promote and encourage downtown development (Byers, 1998: 189). Skyways and underground tunnels created clean, air-conditioned, tasteful and well-managed, but unsurprising and boring corridors and bridges (Boddy, 1992: 144).

shoppers, but also pulled the business out of the city centre (Punter, 1990: 11; Car, et. al., 1992: 68; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 9-10, 12-14). The city centres which could not compete with these retail developments lost their vitality, and consequently declined (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 12; Carr, et. al., 1992: 68). The decline also appeared in the public realms of the central city. They became 'under-used' spaces.

The decentralisation of urban functions also brought about the fragmentation of public space. For example, with the movement of the middle class from the inner city to residential suburbs, this led the playgrounds and parks of American cities in particular to become more and more the domain of the working class and the poor (Carr, et. al., 1992: 67). While some public spaces in the central city became the domain of working class, suburban shopping malls became the gathering places of middle class suburbanites (Punter, 1990: 13).

2.3.2.4.3 Changes in the technological, social, economic and political aspects of life

The decline in the use of public spaces, as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, is not only the outcome of the changes in the urban pattern. For some scholars, it is also the product of the development in the technological, social, economic and political aspects of urban life which started with the Industrial Revolution and has brought about a drastic change in public life. Some describe this change as the contraction of the public realm, accompanied by the expansion of private realm, while some others, like Sennett, define it as a blurring of the distinction between public and private realms. Reisman, Lofland and Suttles (cited in Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 12) refer to it as the decline, fall or loss of the public realm.

According to some researchers, the decline in public life resulted from the withdrawal of individuals from public life. Sennett (1977: 16) argues that the Industrial Revolution brought about a capitalist, secular, urban culture which has increasingly emphasised the 'self', while it has undermined communal feelings, social responsibilities and public interaction. As a result, it has turned the society into atomic individuals and caused them to withdraw from the public realm (Sennett, 1977). Loukaitou-Sideris (1988: 15) and Carr, et. al. (1992: 32) claim that the withdrawal of individuals from public realm is the output of the increased density and heterogeneity of the modern city which creates an overload of inputs in the form of enhanced encounters, experiences and information. Since people have too much stimulation to process and must prioritise and select from alternatives in order to function, they develop social screening and filtering devices that often deprive them of a sense of contact and spontaneous integration in the life around them (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 15; Carr, et. al., 1992: 32). Subsequently, they turn inward toward their own concerns and disregard much of the stimulation with which they cannot

cope (Carr, et. al., 1992: 32). They become fearful of others, ignore others' problems, narrow the view and lose the richness, diversity and humanity around them (Carr, et. al., 1992: 32). In other words, people withdraw themselves from public life. This withdrawal has resulted in social alienation and isolation, the depersonalisation and emptiness of public life which has brought about the decline in the use of public spaces.

Another reason for the decline in public life is its impoverishment from social and political functions. Sennett (1977: 27) and Loukaitou-Sideris (1988: 12) claim that, in the capitalist culture, public behaviour has begun to be characterised by passive participation and silent observation, rather than social intercourse and active interaction. This has weakened the educational, informative and communicative character of public life, and impoverished public life in its social and political dimensions (Sennett, 1977; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 7-8).

Some argue that the transfer of some activities of the public realm to the private realm resulted in the decline in public life. According to Lofland (1973, cited in Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 10), 'private ownership' has been continuously exalted in the capitalist society, whereas communal and public ownership have been undermined. Private ownership has encouraged homeownership which has turned the attention to private space and diminished the significance of communal settings (Lofland, 1973, cited in Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 10). For some others, technological advances brought about the transfer of some activities of the public realm into the private realm and caused the decline of public life. First, new construction technologies (such as the use of electricity, heating, and plumbing, air-conditioning) have created pleasant and comfortable environments and made the indoor activities more attractive than outdoor activities (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 23). Second, some activities which used to take place in the public realm, such as the collection of water, the elimination of body waste, entertainment, have either disappeared or retreated inside the private realm of the household (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 7-8). This has also been accompanied by the development of home-oriented and private entertainment options and leisure activities (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 25). Television, video movies and computer games have increasingly become substitutes for the playground, the walk to the park and the pedestrian promenade, and the 'Sunday at the movies' (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 25; Carr, et. al., 1992: 5; Gutman, 1978: 256). Townspeople have begun to spend time more in private space, rather than in public space. Fourth, the advances in communication and transportation technology have provided devices like the telephone, fax, e-mail, radio and television which have brought about information exchange and communicative interaction without physical presence and face-to-face contact (Czarnowski, 1982: 210; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 24). These developments have created an aspatial public realm where face-to-face contact is missing (Carr, et. al., 1992: 29). They have

also de-emphasised participation in public affairs, turned individuals into spectators and passive participants (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 24). They have encouraged the atomisation of society, social alienation and isolation (Carr, et. al., 1992: 5).

Some scholars like Sennett (1977) and Gottdiener (1985) argue that technological developments made public life spatially disjointed, dispersed and discontinuous. Particularly with the increase in private car ownership, the modern twentieth-century city has become an agglomeration of fragmented and isolated units, such as drive-in shopping centres, restaurants, cinemas and banks, which have caused the loss of the spatial coherence among urban elements (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 24; Celik, et. al., 1994: 6). This has a great deal of negative impact on community formation and thus public life.

The nature of community, its size and heterogeneity, also plays a significant role in the rise of the imbalance between public and private life. The more heterogeneous the population is, the less social interaction takes place, as pointed out below:

> In highly diverse communities it can be difficult to make contacts in the public realm unless people are able to identify others with similar interests or backgrounds. Heterogeneity can lead to withdrawal to the private realm. Large communities, where residents are unknown to each other, encourage private behaviour and retreat into private spaces" (Carr, et. al., 1992: 31).

Loukaitou-Sideris (1988: 15) notes that in American cities, ethnic, racial and cultural fragmentation of the society caused the fragmentation of urban space, including the fragmentation of public space. The fragmentation of public space has been accompanied by the fear, suspicion, tension and conflict that different social groups feel towards each other (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 16). In the modern urban environment, these feelings result in the spatial segregation of activities in terms of class, ethnicity, race, age, (type of) occupation, and the designation of certain locales that are only appropriate for certain persons and uses (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 16).

According to some researchers, the technological, social, economic and political developments in the last century brought about the change in the family structure and family life, and the rise of careerism which also reduced the use of public spaces. Loukaitou-Sideris (1988: 25-26) notes that increased divorce rates, childless couples and mobility of family members put the conventional nuclear family in danger. She (1988: 26-27) also points out that as professional success and careerism have increasingly become important for individuals, the nuclear family tradition has degraded (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 26-27). She (1988: 26) argues that the degradation of the nuclear families has reduced the use of public spaces, because "many traditional public space

activities had the family as their focus" (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 26). Additionally, citing busy employment schedules and longer travelling time between home and work as the reasons for the decrease in leisure time, she argues that people tend to spend their weekend at home and sometimes at shopping malls, while family picnics and social gatherings are usually reserved for special occasions or holidays (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 27). Hence, the decline in public life, the changes in family structure and the rise of careerism have brought about the decay in the public spaces.

To summarise, the industrial city witnessed the emergence of 'deserted' and 'fragmented' public spaces due to the slum clearance and inner city programmes, decentralisation of urban functions, and changes in the technological, social, economic and political aspects of life. Such processes have also been influential in shaping the landscape of the post-industrial city; and continued to lead to the rise of public spaces with similar characteristics.

2.3.2.5 'Neglected' public spaces

Starting in the mid-1960s, public spaces have become 'neglected' in Western countries in various ways. In some cases, they were neglected as public amenities. For instance, in case after case, the green land around the CIAM's tower blocks became smaller and finally the tower block in green land has become the tower without green space or, even worse, the tower in the parking lot (LeGates and Stout, 2000: 297). In other cases, public spaces were neglected in order to avoid political demonstrations and protests. Particularly in the 1960s, the social and political movements, which turned public spaces into active gathering places, led to an 'anti-public space' attitude (Carr, et. al., 1992: 68-69). Subsequently, new college campuses and other facilities were sometimes designed without large central spaces so that major demonstrations and assemblies could not occur (Carr, et. al., 1992: 60).

Public authorities also neglected public spaces throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997; Loveday, 1998). With the decline of the welfare state, the production of new public spaces and the maintenance of the existing ones have become an economic burden for the public sector (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 140; Madanipour, 1999). This led to the drastic decrease in the provision and maintenance of public spaces, which accelerated their decline and decay (Carr, et. al., 1992: 67). As a result, unprotected underpasses, anonymous multi-storey car parks, empty city centres, badly-lit streets, parks full of graffiti, litter and broken windows became the common scenes in public spaces of the industrial city (Loveday, 1998: 115). Public spaces, which were left to decay, lost their attractiveness. They eventually became either deserted places, or places which were mainly dominated by the 'undesirable' people, such as winos, beggars, indigents, rowdy or

drunken youths, who created fear and anxiety (Tiesdell and Oc, 1998: 641). Further, public spaces have become places to avoid. Particularly the increase in crime, deviant behaviour and civil disorder in public spaces have kept many, especially the middle and upper classes, away from these places (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 18; Carr, et. al., 1992: 33; Miethe, 1995; Madanipour, 1999). Consequently, public spaces have become places to avoid.

Fearful, threatening and intimidatory public spaces, which are explained above as the features of the industrial city, have also become the prominent characteristics of some public spaces of the post-industrial city (Tibbalds, 1992; Tiesdell and Oc, 1998: 641; Burgers, 2000).

2.3.3 Public spaces of the post-industrial city

The destiny of public spaces of the industrial city, which was associated with a constant decline drastically changed in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Public spaces have been placed once again at the centre of the city's agenda. This section focuses on the increasing concern with public spaces first, in the North American and European cities and then, in the British cities. Besides, it examines new types of public spaces emerging as the consequence of the recent increasing concern and investments. Finally, it studies the prominent characteristics of these public spaces.

2.3.3.1 Increasing significance of public spaces

2.3.3.1.1 Increasing significance of public spaces in the world

Public spaces have been subject to broad concern since the late 1970s and the early 1980s. A number of researchers point out the recent interest in public spaces and explain the reasons for this increasing concern. According to Tibbalds, this interest is the consequence of the emerging new spirit of urbanism, which strongly rejects the philosophy of the Modernist architecture and planning, and aims at bringing back the characteristics of the traditional city, as stated below:

> We are witnessing a return to the spirit of urbanism that characterised well-loved traditional towns and cities. The concern is once again for the scale of people walking, for attractive, intricate places and for complexity of uses and activities. The object has now become the public realm –the space between buildings- rather than the buildings themselves. The aim is to create urban areas with their own identities, rooted in a regional and/or historic context. The physical design of the public domain as an organic, colourful, human-scale, attractive environment is the over-riding task of the urban designer. (Tibbalds, 1992: 2)

Francis (1987: 24) argues that the recent concern with public spaces results from an increasing interest in street activities such as street vending, outdoor eating, walking and cycling. Carr et. al. (1992) agree with Francis' point, stating that:

> Older parks, playgrounds, and public squares, allowed to deteriorate in the latter part of this century, are now being renewed and revived in many cities. Farmers markets are increasingly popular and, in a few vanguard cities, public market structures have been renewed or created to house them. Street vending and performing are back, and not only in the contrived settings of 'festive marketplaces'. Outdoor cafés are enormously popular. (Carr, et. al., 1992: 7)

Besides, Carr, et. al. (1992: 40-41) point to the recent demands of the new young, middle-class urbanites who are active in sports and fitness for the creation of new open spaces and the provision of access to nature close to where people live and work. Hence, there has been pressure to revive older parks, playgrounds, and other central spaces and to make them useful again (Carr, et. al., 1992: 41).

The nostalgia of traditional public spaces, the increasing interest in street activities and the pressure of young middle-class urbanites to create new open spaces might have resulted in the recent concern with public spaces. Yet, the major forces which have brought about the recent interest are strongly related to the social, economic, political and technological changes in the world which have been taking place for over two decades. With globalisation, the economies of most countries have become incorporated in a global capitalist economy through the advanced communication technologies and multi-national companies and institutions which are able to switch capital investment between countries and regions (Hall and Hubbard, 1996: 159). The consequence is that some cities have been transformed into major 'world cities', specialising in service and technology-based activities, while some cities which were previously prosperous have faced severe economic decline (Hall and Hubbard, 1996: 159).

Globalisation has brought about a drastic change in the urban landscape of the 'world cities', especially in their downtowns (Boyer, 1993: 115) (Figure 2.6). Multi-national companies in particular have become one of the key actors in the economic and spatial development of world cities in North America and Europe (Boyer, 1993: 11; Crilley, 1993: 128-129). The new landscape which is described as 'spectacular', 'astonishing', 'glorious', 'fantasy-world' is characterised by its exclusivity and affluence (Boyer, 1993: 115). It is generally self-referential and fragmented from the rest of the city (Boyer, 1993: 113, 115; Crilley, 1993: 127, 129-130). 'Good design', cleverly managed and maintained visual décor and ambience which create 'strong visual identity', and themes which are well-articulated with space are the distinguished characteristics of the new landscape (Boyer, 1993: 113, 123-124; Crilley. 1993: 129-130).

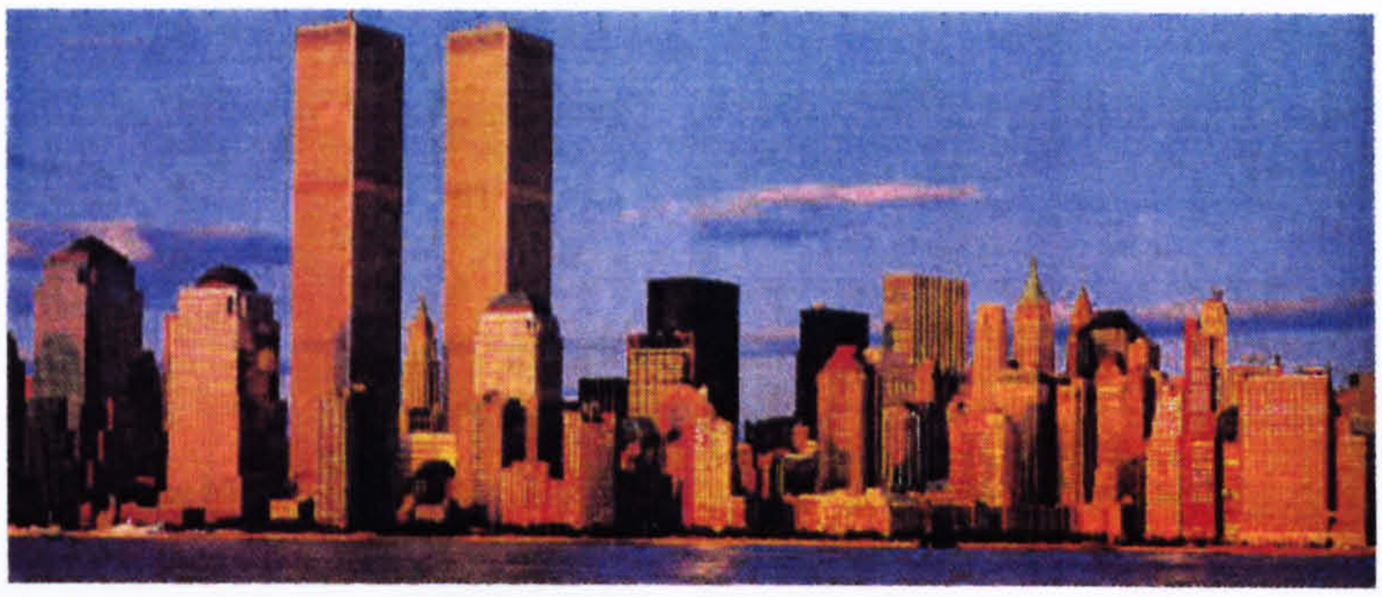

Figure 2.6. Manhattan, New York before 11 September 2001 as an example of the landscape of world cities (Author unknown, no date: 144)

The new landscape of 'world cities' has also become distinguished with its public spaces (Figure 2.7). The developers, architects and designers of the projects claim that they seek to create beautiful and liveable public spaces in order to fulfil public needs (Crilley, 1993: 31). However, one of the major motivations, which drive the new urban landscape, is the fact that investors and developers have realised the economic benefits which public spaces contribute to their investments. Punter (1990: 14) and Loukaitou-Sideris (1993: 140-141) argue that investors and developers have become more aware of the significance of a high quality and lively public realm in order to enhance both the value of the scheme and its long-term potential. Moreover, they have realised the benefit that they can get through the development by increasing floor area ratios of valuable commercial space in exchange for the provision of some public amenities (Carr, et. al., 1992: 13, 74; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 140-141). Another reason behind the recent increasing interest in public spaces is the attempt to market the city, to create an image for the city to attract capital, goods, labour and corporations (Boyer, 1993: 124-125; Crilley, 1993: 138-139). According to Celik, et. al. (1994: 6) and Madanipour (2000), within the new landscape, public spaces have become significant as a means of marketing localities. Burger (2000: 152) notes that sport and cultural events, such as football tournaments, festivals, carnivals, flea markets, circuses and fairs, which have been organised for city promotion and city marketing have made public spaces popular once more.

Figure 2.7. The public spaces of South Street Seaport in New York as examples of distinguished public spaces of 'world cities' (Source: Author unknown, 2002a)

Globalisation has brought about a great deal of wealth to some cities, particularly the ones which are well placed in the global economy. However, it has resulted in recession in some cities and regions. In particular old industrial regions and cities in North America and Europe have suffered from the economic, social and urban decline (Paddison, 1993: 339). These cities have seen the attraction of inward investments (new industries, government investment, administrative and office functions, and more importantly the newly affluent) as the major solution for economic, social and urban regeneration (Paddison, 1993: 339; Hubbard, 1995: 244). In order to attract new inward investments, the ruling elites of these cities have realised the need to create and promote new images, which would erase the fading memory of manufacturing industry and which would emphasise their distinctive social, cultural and historical characteristics to stress their advantages over other cities (Hubbard, 1995: 244; Madanipour, 2000). Consequently, they have understood the necessity to create a new urban landscape which would construct and promote the new images of these cities, improve the quality of the urban environment and create safe, good-looking and exclusive environments to attract developers, investors and their employers, tourists and affluent groups (Hubbard, 1995: 244; Madanipour, 2000).

Public spaces have become inevitable parts of the strategies to construct this new urban landscape. They have been shown as the crucial components of urban regeneration projects and the programmes to re-image and market old industrial cities. McInroy (2000: 23) argues that public spaces are seen as one of the prominent means to develop the positive images of an area and to improve an area's attractiveness to potential inward investors. Madanipour (1999: 886-887; 2000) claims that they have been recognised as crucial in terms of manufacturing new images to find a

place in a competitive global market. Hubbard (1995: 244) notes the increasing investments in public uses such as cultural centres, conference suites or heritage parks which are designed to play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration.

According to Loukaitou-Sideris (1993: 140-141), the increasing significance of public spaces is also the outcome of the demand of certain segments of the population, like the employees of the service sector, the tourists and conventioneers, for the provision of 'new' and 'safe' public spaces which are separated from 'undesirables' like the homeless, street vendors, noisy teenagers and children. The employees of the rapidly growing service sector have demanded new public spaces which provide them with the opportunities for shopping, enjoying themselves, socialising with their friends, colleagues, and some time meeting social peers and thus potential partners and even carrying out professional meetings (Burgers, 2000: 149-150). As well as the employees of the service sector, the 'museumization of the culture' is another factor which has caused the rising interest in public spaces (Burgers, 2000: 154). The museumization of the culture is the product of a growing interest, particularly amongst tourists, in museums and galleries, and the open public spaces (Burgers, 2000: 154).

For Madanipour (1999), the recent interest in public spaces has also resulted from the new understanding of local authorities to show their success in urban regeneration projects. He (1999: 887) states that the production of public spaces has become "a vehicle of legitimacy for local authorities, symbolising their commitment and effectiveness in urban regeneration". Additionally, he (1995: 45) notes that public spaces have lately started to be used as part of a strategy for confronting the socio-spatial fragmentation of cities. This fragmentation has resulted from the social and spatial segregation of middle and working classes and the racial and social segregation in North American and European cities (Loukaitous-Sideris, 1988: 16; Madanipour, 1999), as well as the transformation through de-industrialisation and the transition to a service economy (Madanipour, 1999). The social polarisation and segregation have caused fear and anxiety, as well as the destabilisation of some established socio-spatial patterns. Thus, public spaces have been promoted to confront this social polarisation and fragmentation and manage this anxiety (Madanipour, 1999).

2.3.3.1.2 Increasing significance of public spaces in Britain

Parallel to this international trend, public spaces have also become a subject of interest in Britain. Starting in the 1980s, public spaces have been located at the centre of city-marketing and re-imaging programmes (Madanipour, 1999: 887; McInroy, 2000: 23). Further, they have been seen as the inevitable components of city centre regeneration and revitalisation projects. Within the

context of city centre regeneration schemes, the improvement in the accessibility, security, cleaning, soft and hard landscaping, signage and lighting of public spaces has been seen as the major components in creating and enhancing the vitality and vibrancy of city centres, beside the policies of creating '24-Hour' cities, developing 'café cultures' and the evening economy of city centres (Reeve, 1996: 73; Oc and Tiesdell, 1998: 97; Loveday, 1998: 115). Subsequently, beautiful, exclusive and distinctive public spaces, enriched with high quality construction materials, artworks, and design elements, which underline the historical and cultural legacies of localities, have been built.

The increasing interest in public spaces partially started with the Conservative Government which came into power in 1979. It is not possible to deny that by tightening local government expenditure, the Conservative Government caused the disinvestment in public spaces; and this brought about the decline and decay in the existing public spaces (Punter, 1990: 9; Hall and Hubbard, 1996: 157). Nevertheless, throughout the 1980s, having launched a number of pioneering, large-scale urban renewal and regeneration projects on the derelict lands of industrial estates, declining waterfronts and city centres, the Conservative Government pioneered the creation of high quality public spaces (Hubbard, 1995: 244). Public spaces in Canary Wharf in London and those in Don Valley in Sheffield are fine examples which show the exclusive and distinctive public spaces of the period of Conservative Government (Crilley, 1993; Goodwin, 1993) (Figure 2.8). The flagship projects of the period were developed under public-private partnerships, and led by the central government agents, i.e. urban development corporations (Goodwin, 1993; Sadler, 1992: 182, 186; Hubbard, 1995: 243; Hall and Hubbard, 1996: 157). Yet, the private sector was positioned as the key actor in these projects (Deaking and Edwards, 1993; quoted in Hubbard, 1995: 243; Hall and Hubbard, 1996: 157). Besides, these flagship projects were mainly driven through city marketing and re-imaging policies for British cities to find their places within the globalised world (Sadler, 1993: 9; Goodwin, 1993).

Figure 2.8. High-quality public spaces in Canary Wharf, London (Source: Author unknown, no date2)

In the 1990s, public spaces were also at the centre of the political agenda. The importance of 'well-designed' public spaces were officially recognised by the central government (DETR, 2000). The Labour Government published a number of policy documents which emphasise the importance of the provision of well-designed and high-quality public spaces and the enhancement of the declining and decaying ones. One of these policy documents is *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, which was published in 1999, points out the significance of the creation of well-designed streets and good-quality public open spaces in order to solve the problems of declining British towns and cities (DETR, 2000: 42-43). Another significant policy document is the recent White Paper, *Our Towns and Cities: The Future - Delivering an Urban Renaissance*. It strongly recommends that local authorities produce well-designed and good-quality public spaces and look after the current urban fabric properly, by "tackling litter, vandalism and noise; maintaining and improving streets and buildings; and making sure parks, playgrounds and other public spaces are safe and attractive places" (DETR, 2000: 7, 9). The final report of The Urban Green Spaces Task Force, *Green Spaces, Better Places*, which was published in May 2002, represents a small shift from an approach centred on the idea of 'well-designed' to 'high-quality', 'safer', 'accessible' and 'sustainable' public spaces and improving the existing ones in order to create 'liveable' cities (DTLR, 2002: 11-13). Here, public spaces are not only seen as the means to develop an urban landscape to attract inward investment, affluent and exclusive groups and tourists, but also significant tools for neighbourhood renewal and regeneration programmes (DTLR, 2002: 82). The most recent Government's report on the public spaces is *Living Places – Cleaner, Safer, Greener*, which was published in October 2002. The report describes the additional measures for improving the quality of the public realm, and sets out how the Government will act over the next five years

with respect to the structures, legislations, policies and funding in order to tackle the quality of the local environment in deprived neighbourhoods and to meet the commitments on urban parks and green spaces (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2002: 7).

The Labour Government has not only encouraged the creation of new public spaces and the enhancement of the declining ones, but has also strongly recommended that local authorities prepare a single strategy, which deals with the provision, design, management, funding and maintenance of the public realm (The Urban Task Force, 1998; cited in DETR, 2000: 67; DTLR, 2002: 83; Regan, 2000: 117). Despite the recognition of local authorities as the agents, who are responsible for the provision and maintenance of public spaces, *Our Towns and Cities: The Future - Delivering an Urban Renaissance* (2000), *Green Spaces, Better Places* (2002) and *Living Places – Cleaner, Safer, Greener* (2002) represent the tendency towards centralisation in terms of the provision of public space strategy. Both policy documents propose a central agency which will be given direct responsibility for overseeing a vision and proposals for the creation and management of these sorts of parks, play areas and open spaces (DETR, 2000: 75; DTLR, 2002: 78; Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2002b: 7).

The Labour Government has also encouraged the development and improvement of public spaces by generating new funds for urban green spaces, such as the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Green Spaces and Sustainable Communities Fund and the New Opportunities Fund (Thompson et. al, 2001; DTLR, 2002: 23). For instance, the Heritage Lottery Fund has allocated £180 million for urban parks since 1996 (Thompson et. al, 2001: 7). *Green Spaces, Better Places* recommends at least £100 million capital funds in each of the next five years to provide new green spaces and improve the existing ones (DTLR, 2002: 78). Besides, it shows some urban regeneration funds, like the Single Regeneration Budget, the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and the New Deal for Communities, as alternative financial resources to be used for the improvement of the quality of urban green spaces (DTLR, 2002: 23). In addition, the Labour Government has encouraged raising the standards of parks, play-areas and open spaces by launching various schemes, such as a Green Flag Awards scheme, the Spaces for Sports and Art Scheme and the new Beacon Council award, as well as through the Best Value regime (DETR, 2000: 9, 10, 67; DTLR, 2001: 32; DTLR, 2002: 8, 34). Moreover, they have emphasised the protection of public spaces which have historical and cultural values. Planning Policy Guidance Note 15 brought the protection of parks, gardens or squares on the English Heritage *Register of Parks and Gardens of Historic Interest in England* into the development plans (1994, cited in Thompson et. al, 2001: 7).

It is also possible to note the recent rising sensitivity to the people's needs with regard to the provision of public spaces. *Our Towns and Cities: The Future - Delivering an Urban Renaissance* and *Green Spaces, Better Places* particularly emphasise the significance of the creation of urban green spaces to meet the needs of everyone, especially children and young people, the elderly, those with disabilities, minorities and people in disadvantaged areas (DETR, 2000: 67-71; DTLR, 2002: 78). The recent documents in general recommend the partnership between public, private and voluntary sectors (DETR, 2000: 34; DTLR, 2002: 82). Yet, the 1990s were also characterised by the move towards greater community consultation and participation in issues related to development and town planning, particularly due to Local Agenda 21 and the rise in volunteer groups' involvement in environmental management (Thompson, et. al., 2001: 7). *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, Our *Towns and Cities: The Future - Delivering an Urban Renaissance* encouraged the involvement of citizens in urban development projects (DETR, 2000: 8; Regan, 2000: 117). This tendency can be also seen in relation to public spaces. For example, *Green Spaces, Better Places*, Planning Policy Guidance Note 17 and *Living Places – Cleaner, Safer, Greener* significantly emphasise the involvement of the local community in the planning, management and delivery of services for urban green spaces (DTLR, 2002: 83; Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2002a; Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2002b; Author unknown, 2002j: 9). The Urban Park Forum and Children's Play Council are two proposed agents of the Labour Government in order to help the local communities in the design, management and maintenance of local parks, play areas and other open green spaces, by providing the kind of information and support that is needed, by promoting how best to provide advice and share good practice and exploring ways of developing local fora or networks (DTLR, 2001: 8, 36). *Living Places – Cleaner, Safer, Greener* also launches a new national campaign for raising everyone's awareness of the importance and value of public spaces and their roles in managing and maintaining it (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2002b: 7; Author unknown, 2002j: 9).

As a result of the strong policy recommendations of the central government, in the 1990s, local authorities became more sensitive about the design quality and vitality of public spaces. A number of local authorities have prepared plans with the emphasis on imaginative investment in the public realm through the provision of art, landscaping and public facilities, the creation and maintenance of the vitality of streets and the enhancement of public streets (Punter, 1990: 14).

2.3.3.2 Emergence of new types of public spaces

The new landscape of the post-industrial city, which has emerged in European and North American cities, includes new components. One of these components is 'decentralised, self-referential and inward-oriented retail units'. Suburban shopping malls are such developments,

which first appeared in the 1950s with the move of retail functions outside the central city (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 12; Carr, et. al., 1992: 68). These entities, which were isolated from the rest of the city, were primarily accessible by car (Punter, 1990: 10). The early examples of suburban shopping malls contained supermarkets, department stores, and chain stores which were connected to each other via streets and plazas (Punter, 1990: 10). Some of them combined retail with leisure activities (Punter, 1990: 11; Crawford, 1992: 23). By fulfilling both shopping and leisure needs and being open late on weekdays and on Sunday, they became very popular among suburbanites (Punter, 1990: 10; Carr, et. al., 1992: 68; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 12). Later on, suburban shopping malls became bigger in size and specialised according to customer types. Regional shopping malls may contain at least two department stores and a hundred shops and serve customers from as far as twenty miles away (Crawford, 1992: 7). They appeared in the mid-1980s in Britain (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 13). Another type of shopping mall is super-regional malls, which include at least five department stores and up to 300 shops, and serve an area of a hundred-mile radius (Crawford, 1992: 7). They may also include multi-uses such as office buildings, high-rise apartments and hotels and corporate headquarters (Crawford, 1992: 24). At the top of all these malls, there are megamalls, which are international shopping attractions (Crawford, 1992: 7). There are also various types of malls, from the luxury malls which offer expensive specialty goods in sumptuous settings, to outlet malls which sell slightly-damaged or out-of-date goods at discount prices (Crawford, 1992: 26). Some strip malls focus on specific products or services –furniture, automotive supplies, printing and graphic design, or even contemporary art (Crawford, 1992: 26).

Suburban shopping malls advocated the development of quasi-public spaces, since they were privately owned, built, managed and controlled public spaces (Celik, et. al., 1994: 6). These public spaces provided high-quality, comfortable and safe environments which were protected from outside conditions (Carr, et. al., 1992: 68; Reeve, 1996: 62; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 12-14). For this reason, early suburban shopping malls became the new foci of social interaction and community life (Punter, 1990: 11; Crawford, 1992: 23). Later on, they started to serve a bigger variety of groups. In particular the regional, super-regional and mega shopping malls, which are characterised by their attractive and good design, are in the service of a great number of people coming from miles away, as well as tourists.

The popularity of suburban shopping malls encouraged the decentralisation of other retail functions. In Britain, food retailing such as supermarket chains was decentralised during the 1970s; this was followed by the movement of bulky goods such as DIY, electrical goods, carpets and furniture from town centres to retail warehouse parks in the 1980s; and so retail parks were

developed in the mid-1980s. The public spaces in these self-referential and inward-oriented retail units were not able to become social gathering places, since there were limited public spaces which were only designed to help shopping activities and the attempts to introduce leisure and recreation functions have failed (Punter, 1990: 11).

As well as the decentralised, self-referential and inward-oriented retail units, the post-industrial city is also characterised by the new developments in the central city. These developments, which were particularly built in order to attract retailers back to city centres, and thus to revitalise the declining city centres, led to the emergence of four new types of quasi-public spaces: city centre shopping malls, corporate plazas, atria and off-the ground networks (Punter, 1990: 10; Carr, et. al., 1992: 74-75; Boddy, 1993: 139; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 9-10). City centre shopping malls appeared in the late 1960s and were constructed throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Punter, 1990: 10; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997: 12; Rubenstein, 1992: vii; Carr, et. al., 1992: 72). Various types of city centre shopping malls were developed, such as indoor and outdoor, open and closed ones (Carr, et. al., 1992: 72). Some outdoor shopping malls were developed by eliminating or restricting traffic on main streets and pedestrianising the main shopping streets (Carr, et. al., 1992: 72; Oc & Tiesdell, 1997: 12; Francis, 1978: 24). Such shopping malls are common in British city centres. Some others were built close to public transport such as buses and light rail lines (Carr, et. al., 1992: 72).

City centre shopping malls were not designed to function as gathering places (Punter, 1990: 10). They have brought in various ways of avoiding undesirable user groups and activities in order to function as safe and protected places only for shoppers. Some malls have removed all seats in their indoor or outdoor streets, plazas and atria, except those linked to cafés, etc.; private guards have actively discouraged a group of people gathering in one place and most forms of prolonged socialising; leafleting, busking or begging have been tightly controlled and undesirable groups like bag ladies, alcoholics, punks or skinheads have been banned (Punter, 1990: 10).

As for corporate plazas and atria, they were first developed and became common in big American cities in the 1960s (Carr, et. al., 1992: 74-75, 83). Corporate plazas are generally impressive foregrounds for an adjacent building, with large public artworks (Carr, et. al., 1992: 74-75) (Figure 2.9). Similarly, atria are indoor, private and lockable plazas or pedestrian streets (Carr, et. al., 1992: 83). Both corporate plazas and atria were developed in exchange for the right given to developers to add significant height and bulk to their buildings (Carr, et. al., 1992: 13, 74; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 140-141). They were also privately managed as part of new office or commercial development (Punter, 1990: 11; Carr, et. al., 1992: 83). However, in Britain, atria

have been privately developed; and then generally sold to planning authorities as 'public amenities' in order to provide safe pedestrian routes, managed open spaces, or night and day showcases for art and architecture (Punter, 1990: 12). As they have gradually become exclusive settings, their access has only been granted by security guards and only fully permitted users with identity cards have been allowed to enter them (Punter, 1990: 12).

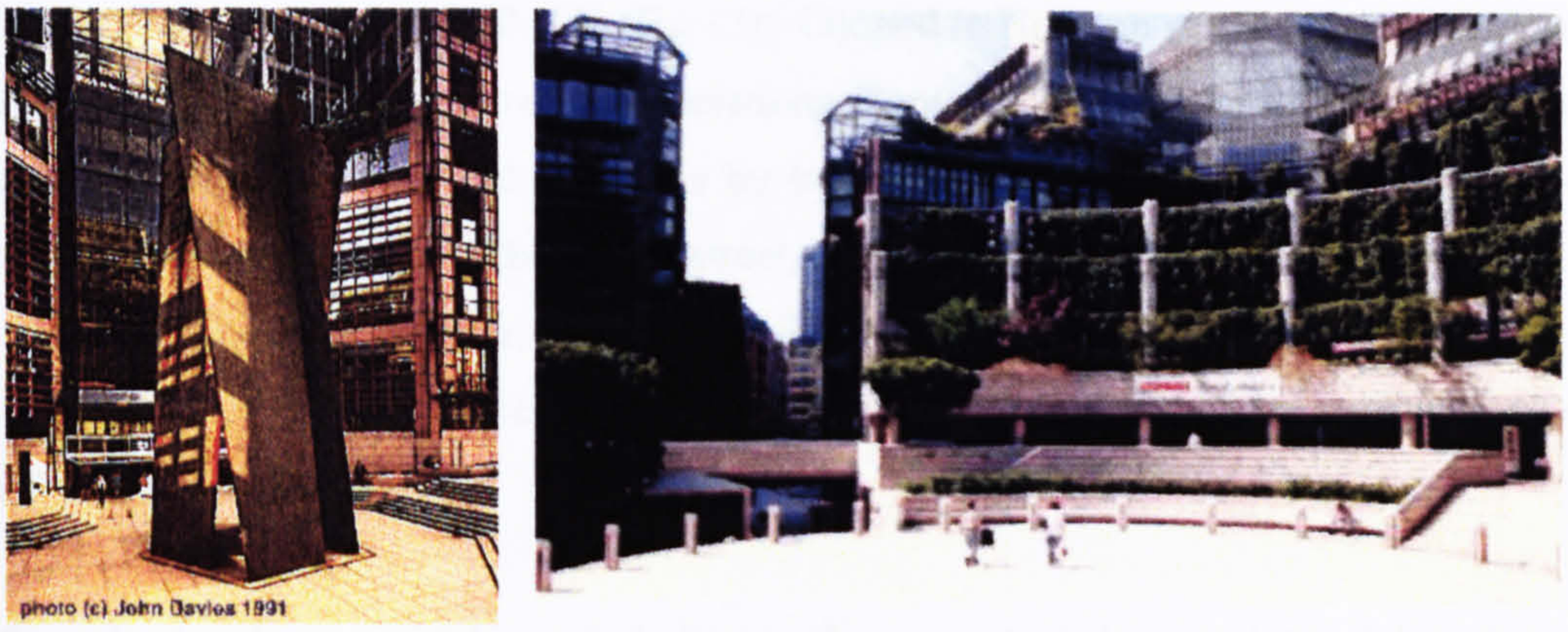

Figure 2.9. Two corporate plazas in Broadgate, London (Source: Davies, 1991 (left); Turner, no date (right))

When shopping malls, corporate plazas and atria were built in city centres, 'off-the ground pedestrian networks' rapidly expanded as an alternative to conventional street networks. As mentioned earlier, 'off-the ground pedestrian networks' were present before the 1980s. Yet, the construction of skyways in the North American cities soared by the mid-1980s due to, first, the dramatic rise in crime on streets and second, a revived economy (Boddy, 1993: 139). While the earlier skyways and tunnels were formerly policed informally, they have become strictly and privately controlled environments (Boddy, 1993: 139; Byers, 1998: 189). Providing sanitised, highly monitored and disciplined environments, these quasi-public spaces have turned into fortresses for certain groups who have felt themselves in danger in conventional public spaces:

> Inside the hermetic bridges and atria of New Detroit, one is struck by the very conservative and very expensive clothes worn by young black men, even those who are clerks, messengers, and trainees. One soon starts to wonder whether the overdressing is a survival strategy, the entrance ticket to the new fortified urban encampments. Even Miami, with its warmer climate, is increasingly opting for grade-separated bridges and a monorail in its downtown, to spare tourists and suburbanites any encounter with the Latino street life immediately below. And in San Francisco, where protection from climate is surely not a factor, the bridges and walkways of the Embarcadero Center have bought new customers and vitality, as Market Street increasingly becomes the refuge of the infirm and nonwhite. (Boddy, 1993: 141)

Skyways and underground tunnels as public spaces of the post-industrial city fail to function as places for social interaction. Boddy (1993) and Byers (1998: 200) argue that they rather promote

the separation of the public domain among various groups, which strengthens race and class stratification and social fragmentation.

As well as skyways and underground tunnels, public spaces were subject to sale. In the 1980s, some streets in the US cities were closed and sold to homeowner associations as a consequence of privatisation policies (Punter, 1990: 13). The City Council in Houston raised about £3 million per annum by selling streets to homeowner associations (Punter, 1990: 13). In Britain, Mrs Thatcher advocated the privatisation of public streets by buying a house on a private, highly-defended estate in Dulwich and also gated the public street, Downing Street (Punter, 1990: 13). Similarly, The Adam Smith Institute in Britain "advocated the wholesale privatisation of city and suburban streets as a solution to the problems of crime, environmental maintenance and local service delivery" (Punter, 1990: 13).

Apart from the development of the central city, another important characteristic of the urbanscape of the post-industrial city is 'mega-commercial development', which is large, self-contained, self-referential and exclusive development, constructed on old industrial districts and other derelict land uses or on virgin lands. They contain either mixed-uses, such as retailing, offices, residences, hotels and entertainment functions, or only one of these uses, like theme parks, office or residential uses (Punter, 1990: 11; Carr, et. al., 1992: 74; Crawford, 1992: 24; Crilley, 1993; Cybriwski, 1999: 223, 226). The mega-commercial developments which are characterised by their well-designed, exclusive and affluent landscapes, brought impressive and distinguished public spaces. These public spaces, which are described as fantasy-oriented places, mainly function to enhance the lettability of a major commercial development and to ensure the longevity of the investment (Punter, 1990: 12). The extreme examples are the public spaces of the megamalls and theme parks, where the design is based on the simulation of real and fantasised worlds (Crawford, 1992; Sorkin, 1992). These thematically arranged public spaces not only attract consumers to the mega-commercial developments, but also keep them in these developments and function to promote consumption.

As well as the mega-commercial developments, restored and rehabilitated historic sites have become the characteristic component of the landscape of the post-industrial city. They are promoted as tourist attractions or turned into exclusive residential, office, retail or cultural activities for affluent groups. The well-designed public spaces based on well-articulated themes are raised within these restored buildings. A nineteenth-century quayside, an old market street surrounded by sixteenth and seventeenth-century buildings or even a town which is turned into an open-air museum can be given as examples. The festival marketplace is one such public space

which has recently become popular. This is a type of shopping mall, including both interior and exterior spaces, which may be privately developed and managed as part of new office or commercial development (Carr, et. al., 1992: 83). It does not include a department store, but contains mainly eating and entertainment places as well as upscale, offbeat, specialty stores (Carr, et. al., 1992: 76). Fanueil Hall in Boston, Harborplace in Baltimore, South Street Seaport in Manhattan and Covent Garden in London are prime examples of festival marketplaces (Crawford, 1992: 17) (Figure 2.10).

Figure 2.10. Covent Garden in London as an example of festival marketplaces (Source: Author unknown, no date3)

One of the remarkable characteristics of the post-industrial city is 'gated developments'. The design characteristics, such as gated streets and electronic surveillance, inward-oriented design, dead-end streets and single-entrances, create public spaces with extremely restricted accessibility (Punter, 1990: 14). Large, self-contained, defensible and exclusive suburban residential areas in the US, namely 'planned unit developments' (PUDs) or the fortified housing sites in the city centre to satisfy the housing needs of yuppies and the dinkies (double-income-no-kids) are such developments (Punter, 1990: 13-14). Public spaces in 'gated developments' are sanitised and freed from undesirable groups and activities in order to secure the exclusivity and to protect the property values of these estates (Punter, 1990: 13). The public spaces of science and business parks are more restricted places than the 'gated' residential developments. These public spaces which accommodate lavishly landscaped parks are "maintained as set pieces for the corporate image makers and the architectural photographer for the glossy magazines" (Punter, 1990: 12-13). The strict control of their accessibility allows only security pass holders, employees and official visitors to use these spaces (Punter, 1990: 13). As well as the new developments, the existing land uses, such as office and particularly residential uses have recently walled themselves off from the rest of the city to withdraw their streets from public use (Punter, 1990; Davis, 1992: 173).

2.3.3.3 Characteristics of new public spaces of the post-industrial city

The public spaces of the post-industrial city are characterised by the over-emphasis on their economic and symbolic roles. Three major phenomena, which over-emphasise the economic roles

of public spaces, are 'privatisation', 'commodification' and 'commercialisation' of public spaces. 'Privatisation' of public space, which is the extension of the neo-liberal policies of the 1980s, signifies the shifting of the design, management and control of public spaces from the public sector to the private sector (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 29; Punter, 1990: 10). Loukaitou-Sideris (1988: 31) also defines it as the introduction and extension of market principles in the provision of public space. 'Commodification' of public space refers to the recognition of public space as a commodity to be bought and sold, just like other material goods, such as cars, fridge or television sets (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 22; Madanipour, 2000). 'Commercialisation' of public space means that public space is used in order to produce profit rather than to improve the quality of urban space and life (Tibbalds, 1992: 1). Madanipour (1999: 888) states that "From shopping malls to gated neighbourhoods and protected walkways, new urban spaces are increasingly developed and managed by private agencies in the interest of particular sections of the population". Loukaitou-Sideris (1988: 22) and Madanipour (2000) claim that public spaces of the post-industrial city have been commodified; they have come to be treated as mere commodities, by stripping off their social and political roles. Tibbalds (1992: 1) argues that the public spaces of the post-industrial city have been commercialised. The selling of public streets by public authorities to raise money can be given as an example of privatisation and commodification of public spaces. The creation of exclusive and affluent public spaces in order to increase the value of the waterfront, commercial, residential, office and entertainment complexes, and the public spaces of theme parks, regional or mega shopping malls designed according to the principle of 'capture'[2] in order to keep the users inside and to increase consumption are the remarkable examples for commercialisation of public spaces.

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[2] The principle of 'capture' is commonly used in the design of 'inward-oriented' settings such as suburban and city centre shopping malls (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 152). The 'inward-oriented' settings are characterised by high enclosing walls, blank facades distancing from the street, de-emphasis of street-level accesses, and major entrances through parking structures; and do not give any clue about the interior (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 152). Being completely isolated from the rest of the city and accessible only by car, the inward-oriented environments function to keep the users inside and to increase consumption (Punter, 1990: 10). The principle of 'capture' is also achieved by the design principle of combining shopping and entertainment. Loukaitou-Sideris (1988: 80) argues that the principle of 'capture' is based on a simple rule: "in order for shoppers to be attracted and to spend time in the mall space, they need to be entertained". The first suburban shopping malls in the North American cities which contained a multiplex cinema are the early examples of this design principle (Punter, 1990: 11). Leisure activities have become complicated and diversified in the last few years. Multiplexes, movie theatres, entertainment and food courts, festival shopping, linking monorails, sport facilities, and even nightclubs, amusement parks, indoor water parks, petting zoos and symphony concert halls have appeared in the new generation megamalls in both North American and European cities (Punter, 1990: 11; Crawford, 1992: 3-6, 15). As well as leisure facilities, another design principle which helps to create the 'capture environment', is to develop 'self-sufficient' environments. These settings, which comprise a variety of services and consumer amenities, such as banks, baby-sitting services and specialty food stores, intend to replace the whole outside environment (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 82).

The public spaces in such settings are supposed to help to keep the users inside and to increase consumption. These public spaces are self-referential; that is, they bear no relation to the surrounding city fabric. The bright and colourful interior with signs and vegetation also help to disconnect the interior of these public spaces from the rest of the city (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 83). These features help them to keep the users inside and to increase consumption.

The promotion of 'well-designed' and 'attractive' public spaces is another feature which over-emphasises the economic and symbolic roles of the new public spaces. Starting from the late 1970s and early 1980s, 'well-designed' public spaces have been widely recognised as the means of city-marketing and image-building strategies, which help to attract inward investment and affluent consumers (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 153; Punter, 1990; Crilley, 1993; Boyer, 1993; Hajer, 1993; Cybriwsky, 1999). Public and private sectors have increasingly encouraged the development of 'well-designed' public spaces (Hajer, 1993). As a result, the 'beautification' of public space has become one of the major characteristics of public spaces (Punter, 1990; Crilley, 1993; Boyer, 1993; Hajer, 1993; Cybriwsky, 1999). Several design strategies have been used to produce 'well-designed' public spaces. One of these strategies is to introduce 'exclusivity in design'. By using chic architecture, stylish, highly ornamental and elegant materials, exclusivity in design intends to attract, impress and at the same time promote the feeling of affluence (Hajer, 1993: 63; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 153). Another common strategy is to introduce 'variety and diversity' into design. One of the prominent examples is Canary Wharf, of which the office buildings were designed by 'name' architects with various architectural styles (Crilley, 1993; Boyer, 1993). It is possible to see the replicas of world-famous artefacts in the main public spaces of mega-commercial structures, megamalls and theme parks. A replica of a Louis XV chateau and a miniature version of a Versailles courtyard at the centre of Yebisu Garden Place in Tokyo, the promoted image of Waikiki or Australia's Gold Coast in Daiba (one of the new major attractions which was developed on the reclaimed land in Tokyo Bay), are notable examples which have brought various images together (Cybriwsky, 1999: 228). Another sharp example is from theme parks:

> A trip to Disneyland substitutes for a trip to Norway or Japan. 'Norway' and 'Japan' are contracted to their minimum negotiable signifiers, Vikings and Samurai, gravlax and sushi. It isn't that one hasn't travelled –movement feeds the system, after all. It's that all travel is equivalent. (Sorkin, 1992: 216)

> The tourist travels the world to see the wigged baker at the simulacrum of Colonial Williamsburg drawing hot-cross buns from an 'authentic' brick oven or the Greek fisherman on the quay on Mykonos, mending his photogenic nets, or the Animatronic Gene Kelly 'singing in the rain'. (Sorkin, 1992: 216)

Crilley (1993: 139-140) calls this landscape of visual variety 'scenographic variety', and argues that 'variety' and 'diversity', which is promoted in the design of the new public spaces, is used to cater to the 'taste of culture' of business. For him (1993: 140), 'variety' and 'diversity' in design commodifies public spaces, stating that "every commodity has to have its look" to market itself. Cybriwsky (1999: 229) claims that the eclectic mix of images in the design of public spaces encourages consumption. Another component, which is used to create good-looking public spaces, is the use of 'art'. According to Crilley (1993: 155), "art bolsters public credibility" by

turning a wasteland into a pleasurable paradise. For Hajer (1993: 63), the way that art is used in the new public spaces aims at beautifying them, turning them into commodities and promoting affinity. In this sense, the use of 'art' commodifies and commercialises public spaces (Figure 2.11).

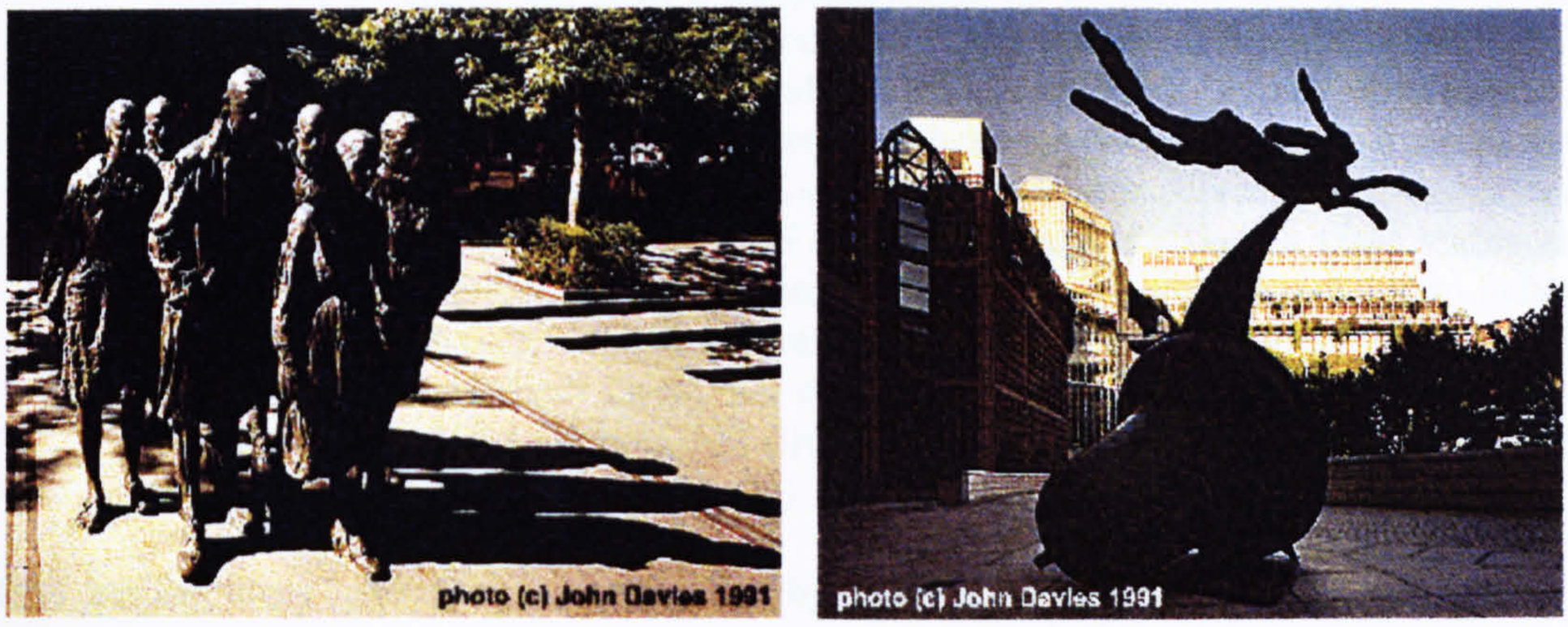

Figure 2.11. Examples of 'well-designed' and 'attractive' public spaces with artworks in Broadgate, London (Source: Davies, 1991)

The other two major components, which are used in the design of the public spaces of the post-industrial city and promote the economic and symbolic roles of public spaces, are 'culture' and 'history' (Figure 2.12). Like art, the use of history and culture in the design of the new public spaces has resulted in their commodification and commercialisation (Philo and Kearns, 1993: 12; Celik, et. al., 1994: 6; Cybriwsky, 1999: 229). There are several examples, such as the public spaces of Canary Wharf in London which are the copy of the memorable public spaces of London; the medieval Tuscan hill town of San Gimignano with piazza and scaled-down towers which was simulated in The Borgata, an open-air shopping mall in Scottsdale, and the copy of a New England Main Street, dated 1720, which was constructed in suburban Connecticut with shops in saltbox houses, a waterwheel and a pond (Crawford, 1992: 16; Crilley, 1993: 149). As well as the simulation of historical places, the restoration and rehabilitation of the historical sites of cities and their promotion as tourist attractions have recently become common practice (Celik, et. al., 1994: 6). South Street Seaport in New York, Quincy Market in Boston, Harbor Place in Baltimore, Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco, and the Riverwalk in New Orleans are well-known examples in the US (Boyer, 1992: 181; Defilippis, 1997). Some scholars, like Philo and Kearns (1993: 235) and Goodwin (1993: 155), argue that the way that historical and cultural assets are used in the new public spaces has de-contextualised the historical and cultural legacy of these places and stripped them of the political controversy on which they were historically based. Instead, they are used to enliven predictable shopping experiences (Crawford, 1992: 17). The

following quotation gives two prominent examples which clearly explain the de-contextualisation of historical and cultural legacy in the new public spaces:

> A nineteenth-century quayside where casual dockworkers laboured in appalling conditions for ridiculously low wages was a context rich in meaning and political tinder, for instance, but such a quayside done up as the backdrop for postmodern warehouses-turned-into-apartments occupied by a mobile new middle-class has been stripped of its original meanings and political resonances (except in the sense that some groupings may endeavour to retrieve these meanings and resonances as almost an 'imaginary' site of resistance). Similarly, nineteenth-century mills demanded an alienation of labour both from itself and from nature that was a lived reality and a likely spur to reaction, but one of these mills converted into a postmodern industrial heritage museum (often containing relics of industrial activity and lifestyle that have little to do with the mill itself) can convey unrest (and the pictures often portray a smiling labour force working happily in the great project of industrialising a great society). (Philo and Kearn, 1993: 24)

Festival marketplaces, which are characterised by their historical associations and themes and 'individualised design' peculiar to a single location is another example of the de-contextualisation of the historical and cultural legacy. According to Carr, et. al. (1992: 76) and Crawford (1992: 17), the historical and cultural legacy of festival marketplaces is promoted as a commodity and they have become means to enhance consumption. Philo and Kearns (1993: 5) and Cybriwsky (1999: 224) note that the public spaces which are designed as the simulation of real and fantasy worlds without bearing any connection to local history and geography, or those which de-contextualise the historical and cultural legacy of a place, create confusions about the symbolic meanings that public spaces represent for people from different income, gender and ethnicity backgrounds.

Figure 2.12. Beamish open-air museum in the north east of England as an example of the promotion of cultural and historical legacy (Source: Jarrold Publishing, 1998: 46, 48)

Another feature, which strongly emphasises the economic and symbolic roles of public spaces, is the increasing 'control'. The recently developed public spaces are highly controlled places. The control in these places starts with their design, which aims at eliminating all uncertain or undesirable elements such as noise, car parking, traffic, smoke, cold weather, and violence which

trouble traditional public spaces (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 81). For this reason, the design introduces a high degree of control over access and use of space, climate, temperature, lighting, merchandise and events (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 81; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 53; Madanipour, 1995). As well as these design principles, the strict control is also exerted into the public spaces through the management and maintenance policies (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 154; Defilippis; 1997: 412). Surveillance and security cameras, private guards or private security forces and limited opening hours are common means which management authorities use to control the users and activities taking place in these public spaces (Punter, 1990: 10).

The management and control policies in the public spaces which are privately controlled aim at pushing undesirable populations, including criminal elements, or homeless, street vendors, musicians and public performers, noisy teenagers and children, and in general anyone who does not conform with the management's standards of appropriateness, or whose presence might damage the image of a clean, proper and safe environment (Punter, 1990: 10; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 154). They also do not allow certain activities to occur in these public spaces, such as noisy activities, drinking alcoholic beverages, sleeping on the benches, leafleting, busking, begging, as well as public events, demonstrations, political gatherings and protests (Punter, 1990: 10; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 154; Crilley, 1993: 152-154). According to Loukaitou-Sideris (1993: 140, 154), the management authorities of these public spaces mainly attempt to avoid people and activities, since: i) they might be potential threats toward the increase in the maintenance cost of the public spaces, ii) they can change the 'perfect' image of the public space (as a safe, protected and orderly setting) and thus threaten the marketability of the space, iii) they can put at risk the liability of the management authorities for all the facilities and spaces within the property lines of the owners (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 140, 154). Moreover, the control on the users and activities of the public spaces aims at achieving the smooth operation of retailers away from thugs and muggers, the comfort and convenience of the groups which do not feel safe in conventional public spaces, as well as to encourage shopping and other consumption activities and to promote and protect the 'good' image of the city (Punter, 1990; Crawford, 1992; Boddy, 1992; Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993; Madanipour, 1995; Defilippis, 1997). For these reasons, the management authorities do not even recognise the new public spaces under private ownership and control as 'public'. In this sense, the posting sign in Greengate Mall in Pennsylvania is worth noting:

> Areas in this mall used by the public are not public ways, but are for the use of the tenants and the public transacting business with them. Permission to use said areas may be revoked at any time, ... (quoted in Crawford, 1993: 23).

This strict control is seen not only in the public spaces which are privately controlled, but also the ones under public control. Particularly in the United States, an increasingly rigid control has been

imposed on streets, public parks, skyways and underground tunnels from the early 1980s (Boddy, 1992: 139; Boyer, 1993). Davis (1992: 172) notes that older high-income cities like Beverly Hills and San Marino have restricted access to their public parks by closing them on weekends to Latino and Asian families from adjacent communities. Similarly, Boyer (1993: 117-118) reports that The Transitory Authority of New York has imposed new rules that prohibit begging and lying down on train seats, littering or creating unsanitary conditions or carrying out any unauthorised commercial activity and entertainment in spaces of public transit. In Los Angeles, city police have banned public assembly and demonstrations in public spaces (Davies, 1992: 179). The beaches of Los Angeles "are now closed at dusk, patrolled by helicopter gunships and police dune buggies" (Davies, 1992: 179). In addition, in Los Angeles, the local authority uses 'barrel-shaped bus benches' which offer a minimal surface for uncomfortable sitting while making sleeping impossible, outdoor sprinklers which are set in urban parks and come on at random times during the night to ensure that the park can not be used for overnight camping (Davies, 1992: 161). Similarly, the local authorities of British cities have manifested tendencies toward stricter control on people and activities in public spaces, particularly to those in the city centre. Bath, Coventry, Sheffield, Nottingham and Glasgow are such cities which have introduced bye-laws to ban drinking alcohol in some public spaces (Reeve, 1996: 75; Oc and Tiesdell, 1998: 92, 100). Similarly, a number of local authorities are considering introducing a bye-law to control anti-social behaviour in streets such as spitting, urinating or defecating, touting or importuning, inhaling any substance likely to cause that person to become mentally or physically incapacitated (Reeve, 1996: 75). The proliferation of the surveillance and security cameras in for the last two decades is also another indication for the increase in the control on the public spaces of British cities (Fyfe and Bannister, 1998: 256). Graham, et. al. (1996: 2) report that Britain has more public space CCTV surveillance systems than any other advanced capitalist nation.

Such strict control measures result in a generation of highly 'ordered' and 'disciplined' public spaces, which have never been so clean, safe and stratified (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988: 81; Crilley, 1993: 154; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993: 153). Under the strict control of public and private security forces, these public spaces do not welcome everyone. While variety in design is strongly promoted in the new urban landscape, variety in users and activities is not desirable (Crilley, 1993: 143). In contrast, through design and management policies, undesirable members of the population are deliberately pushed out of these public spaces. In this sense, such public spaces serve a 'homogenous' public, promote 'social filtering' and therefore cause gentrification (Boddy, 1992: 139; Boyer, 1993: 117-118; Crilley, 1993: 154).

The promotion of social filtering and gentrification is also reported by a number of studies on the public spaces which were developed within the context of urban regeneration, city-marketing and re-imaging policies. McInroy (2000) examines Garnethill Park which was a local park on the edge of the city centre of Glasgow and turned into an artwork within the city centre regeneration project. He (2000) argues that public spaces which are produced under the pressure of city-marketing policies undermine the needs of local communities for the sake of private interest. Hajer (1993) points out that gentrification resulted from the development of a newly built cultural district in Rotterdam city centre which was once notorious for its night clubs and illegal gambling. Similarly, Defilippis' investigation (1997) into South Street Seaport in New York which was once an open-air museum and turned into a privately controlled and commercialised space, and Goodwin's study (1993) on the Docklands in London which was a whole complex of port-related industrial activity and turned into one of the world's financial centres, underline the drastic changes in the user profiles of these places. Unlike the conventional public spaces which gather various people together, the new public spaces enhance, therefore, gentrification, social alienation and isolation (Boyer, 1993: 115-116; Hajer, 1993; Defilippis, 1997; Crawford, 1992: 24). In other words, the new public spaces do not perform as social environments. This is a significant feature which shows that the social roles of public spaces in the post-industrial cities have been undermined.

The privatisation, commodification and commercialisation, the promotion of 'good design', cultural and historical values and the increasing control of activities and users of public spaces through design and management policies are, therefore, common features of some public spaces in the post-industrial city. These characteristics lead to the impoverished physical, psychological, social and political roles of those public spaces, while strongly emphasising their economic and symbolic roles. Consequently, these public spaces have become the means to increase consumption and the tools which mainly serve developers, employers and employees of the service sector, the affluent groups of local inhabitants and tourists. The public spaces with such features are highly questionable in terms of their 'publicness'.

2.4 Conclusion

Public spaces have been one of the inevitable components of cities for centuries with their physical, psychological, social, symbolic, political and economic roles. Appearing in various forms under different names through several civilisations, public spaces have evolved and changed throughout history. This chapter has examined the evolving roles and significance of public spaces in European and North American cities with reference to the social, economic,

political and technological developments, in order to provide a background to the examination of the 1990s public spaces in Britain. For this purpose, the changing roles and significance of public spaces have been investigated in three historical periods: i) the pre-industrial period, ii) the industrial period and iii) the post-industrial period.

The public spaces of the pre-industrial city are characterised by their central role in urban life. They played crucial roles in the pre-industrial city with their physical, social, symbolic, economic and political roles. They were the places for a rich variety of activities, and the major communication channels of cities. They were not only the physical, but also the social binders of cities. Binding a variety of people and groups from all classes, occupations and ages, they used to perform as the arenas for social interaction and integration, the centres for the creation of community life and social coherence. With the higher values attached to them, they were the places for public ceremonies, festivities, human or animal sacrifices, punishment and executions, and individual religious expressions. As well as their inevitable physical, social and symbolic roles, public spaces were the commercial centres, economic value generators, and the political arenas of the pre-industrial city. In spite of these crucial roles, the public spaces of the pre-industrial city were far from being 'ideal'. They were not peaceful, clean, hygienic or ordered environments. In contrast, they were generally disordered, chaotic and sometimes dirty places.

As far as public spaces of the industrial city are concerned, they are characterised by the constant decline in their significance and roles in the city. They were pushed from the centre to the periphery of urban life. Decay and decline became the inseparable components of their destiny. Starting with the Industrial Revolution, the rapid industrialisation of the 18th and 19th centuries initiated the physical and social deterioration of cities, as well as the decay of public spaces. Urban parks, boulevards and avenues which were developed in the 18th and 19th centuries, sought to improve the declining physical and social conditions of the industrial city. Yet, they could not become the comprehensive solutions for the deteriorating public spaces of the rapidly industrialising cities. The Modernist Movement which hoped to achieve this target, led the conventional public spaces to lose their vitality and complexity. By seeing them only as the physical components of cities, it stripped off their psychological, social, economic and political roles. This was also strengthened by another trend of the period; i.e. the standardisation of the design of public spaces. As well as the decline in the roles and significance of public spaces, public spaces lost their centrality in the city, and became 'empty' and 'fragmented' spaces due to slum clearance and inner city programmes, decentralisation of urban functions and changes in the technological, social, economic and political aspects of life. This trend was also encouraged by the neglect of public spaces. Particularly with the decline of the welfare state, public authorities

drastically reduced the provision and maintenance of public spaces, and left them to decline. The abandoned and neglected public spaces became 'deserted' places or places crowded with the 'wrong kind of people'. Increasing crime and the signs of physical and social disorder led them to be seen as fearful, threatening and intimidatory places. Consequently, they became places to avoid.

The view of decline and decay which was widely recognised as the destiny of the public spaces of the industrial city, dramatically changed in the late-1970s. Public spaces have been placed once again at the centre of urban life in the post-industrial city. Particularly under the domination of globalisation and privatisation, attractive and alluring public spaces have been placed at the centre of the major 'world cities' and the 'old-industrial cities' competing to find a place in the global world. Starting in the late-1970s, the significance of public spaces has also been increasingly recognised in Britain, especially through a number of flagship projects pioneered by the Conservative Government in order to revitalise and regenerate the derelict lands of industrial estates, declining waterfronts and city centres. In the 1990s, the Labour Government also increasingly promoted the importance of 'well-designed' and 'well-maintained' public spaces, as well as the improvement in the declining and decaying public realms in cities by publishing new policy documents, generating new funds and launching new public space schemes. Subsequently, a number of local authorities have shown their concern for the public spaces by preparing plans with the emphasis on imaginative investment in the public realm through the provision of art, landscaping and public facilities, the creation and maintenance of the vitality of city streets and the enhancement of public streets.

The increasing concern with and investments in public spaces have led to the emergence of new types of public spaces, ranging from indoor public spaces in decentralised, self-referential and inward-oriented retail units to indoor and outdoor public spaces in city centre shopping malls, corporate plazas, atria and off-the ground networks in the central city, and thematically arranged public spaces in theme parks or megamalls. The common features of these public spaces are the over-emphasis on their economic and symbolic roles, but the impoverishment of their physical, psychological, social and political roles. The consequence is the emergence of public spaces which serve a narrow section of the society, rather than all segments of the public. This raises significant questions about the 'publicness' of these public spaces. The next chapter focuses on the concepts of 'public' and 'private' and looks at how to define public space and its 'publicness'.

Chapter 3: How to define public space?

3.1 Introduction

'Public' and 'private' are words which are rich in meaning and used in a wide range of contexts. 'Public', for example, ranges over public spaces, public officials, public opinion, public interest, public domain, public law, public ownership and public sector. Similarly, 'private' is used for things just as diverse, such as private space, private opinion, private interest, private domain, private law, private ownership and private sector. This chapter aims at defining the concepts 'public space' and 'private space' in order to use them in the investigation of the 'publicness' of the new-generation public spaces. Here, the crucial question, which should be answered, is how the 'publicness' of a public space can be assessed. In order to answer this question, this chapter seeks to answer three questions which are:

- How does this research see the concept of 'space'?
- How does it define 'public space' and 'private space'?
- How does it explain the relationship between public space and private space?

This chapter studies the concepts of 'public' and 'private' in depth in order to provide a background to answer the second and third questions above. Thus, it looks at the meanings of 'public' and 'private' in the past. Then, it studies the various philosophical views which explain public-private distinctions. First of all, it investigates the views which argue for the need to separate 'public' and 'private'. These are the Individualist Model, the Organic Model, the Benn and Gaus' Model, and the public and private sphere theories of Hannah Arendt and Jürgen Habermas. Second, it examines criticisms of the public-private distinctions made by Marxists, Feminists and Postmodernists. Based on this in-depth investigation on the concepts of 'public' and 'private', the second half of this chapter introduces the approach of this research to the concepts of 'public space' and 'private space'. First, it seeks to explain how this research sees the concept of 'space'. Then, it introduces the public space model of this research, which defines 'public space' and 'private space', and the relationship between these two types of space.

3.2 The meanings of 'public' and 'private' in history

'Public' and 'private' are very old concepts whose meanings have changed and evolved throughout history. They were first used in ancient Greece. In the literature on the subject, it is possible to find two explanations of the meaning of 'public' and 'private' in ancient Greek. The first explanation comes from Saxonhouse (1983: 364) who states that *koinon* and *idion* are ancient Greek words which are commonly translated to refer to 'public' and 'private' respectively. *Koinon* was used to signify 'a coming together' or 'a unity' of either family members or strangers (Saxonhouse, 1983: 364). The meaning of *koinon* also contains 'a sense of sharing' and 'a commonality' (Saxonhouse, 1983: 364). *Idion*, however, was used to distinguish one from the whole. It refers to "that which is distinctive, which separates one from another" (Saxonhouse, 1983: 365).

Another researcher who has investigated the notions of 'public' and 'private', Richard Sennett, (1988: 82) puts forth the idea that the synonym of 'public' in ancient Greek was '*synoikismos*', whose first part, *syn*, referred to 'a coming together', and second part, *oikos*, signified 'a household', 'something between a family and a village' or 'a tribe'. Hence, *synoikismos* meant 'putting tribes or families together'. According to Sennett (1982: 82), *synoikismos* not only enabled people to come together functionally, but the term literally means to group together families and tribes who need each other, but who also worship different household gods in the same place. In this sense, *synoikismos* refers to something which brings together differences and varieties.

As can be seen, Saxonhouse and Sennett explain the meaning of 'public' and 'private' in ancient Greek with reference to different words. Nevertheless, both scholars emphasise that the term 'private' in the classical Greek refers to 'a unit' (that is, 'a family') which is independent of the whole, while 'public' signifies 'the aggregation of these independent and different units' which might be made up of individuals or families. Another common thread which both researchers point out is that ancient Greeks used the term 'public' to refer to a *polis* (that is, a city-state), while they used to use 'private' to signify *ikos* (i.e., a household, a family or tribe) (Saxonhouse, 1983: 364-365; Sennett, 1988: 82). Sennett (1988: 82) claims that 'public' was used to signify 'making a city' in ancient Greek. According to him (1988: 82), a *polis* was formed when these *oiki* were integrated into a central place.

The word '*public*' (publyke) was first used in English in 1470 in order to refer to 'the common good in society' (Sennett, 1992: 16). Some seventy years later, a new sense was added. '*Public*'

started to signify 'something which is manifest and open to general observation', while '*private*' was used to mean 'privileged, at a high governmental level' (Sennett, 1992: 16). By the end of the 17th century, the term 'public' started to be used to mean 'open to the scrutiny of anyone', whereas '*private*' referred to 'a sheltered region of life defined by one's family and friends' (Sennett, 1992: 16).

The word '*le public*' in French referred to similar meanings. During the Renaissance, '*le public*' had two meanings: 'the common good' and 'the body politic' (Sennett, 1992: 16). Apart from these meanings, from the mid-17th century on, '*le public*' began to be used to signify 'the audience for plays' which consisted of an elite group of people (Sennett, 1992: 16). Thus, it represented an exclusive group rather than everyone in society.

The word '*public*' had taken on its modern meaning by the early eighteenth century in both Paris and London; and it has been used to mean 'a region of social life located apart from the realm of family and close friends', as well as 'the public realm of acquaintances and strangers including a relatively wide diversity of people' (Sennett, 1992: 17). Today, in contemporary dictionaries, 'public' and 'private' refer to various meanings (Figure 3.1). 'Public', as an adjective, signifies "of or concerning the people as a whole", "open to all", "accessible to or shared by all members of the community", "performed or made openly", "well-known" (Makins, 1998: 1079; Gove, 1976: 1805). It also connotes "a political entity which is carried out or made by or on behalf of the community as a whole"; "authorised by or representing the community" (Gove, 1976: 1836; Brown, 1993: 2404). Besides, 'public' means something which is "provided especially by the government, for the use of people in general" (Crowther, 1995: 936). As a noun, 'public' refers to "people in general" (Crowther, 1995: 936). However, it is also used to signify "an organised body of people" such as a community or a nation (Gove, 1976: 1836). In addition, 'public' means "a group of people who share a particular interest or who have something in common" like the audience at a play or film (Crowther, 1995: 936; Makins, 1998: 1079).

'Private', as an adjective, signifies "not widely and publicly known", "restricted to the individual or arising independently of others", "peculiar to a particular person", "not for general or public use", "of, belonging to or for the use of one particular person or group only" (Gove, 1976: 1805; Crowther, 1995: 920; Makins, 1998: 1079). 'Private' also means 'of, belonging to or managed and provided by an individual or an independent company rather than the state or public body' (Crowther, 1995: 920; Makins, 1998: 1079). In addition, it refers to "having no official role or position" such as private citizens or a private man (Crowther, 1995: 920; Makins, 1998: 1079). Further, 'private' signifies "being or considered unsuitable for public mention, use, or display"

(Gove, 1976: 1805). As a noun, the term is used in a plural form (i.e., 'privates'), which refer to genital organs (Gove, 1976: 1805; Crowther, 1995: 920). Finally, 'in private' is used as an idiom, which means 'with no one else present' (Crowther, 1995: 920).

Public	Private
Public as an adjective:	
• Of or concerning the people as a whole (e.g. public opinion, public space, public interest) • Open to all; accessible to or shared by all members of the community (e.g. public gardens) • Performed or made openly (e.g. public proclamation, public demonstration) • Well-known (e.g. a public figure)	• Not widely and publicly known (e.g. private reasons, private conversation) • Restricted to the individual or arising independently of others (e.g. private views, private opinions) • Not for general or public use; Of, belonging to or for the use of one particular person or group only; personal; Secluded, unfrequented, affording privacy (e.g. private bathroom, private space, private property)
•A political entity which is carried out or made by or on behalf of the community as a whole; authorised by or representing the community (e.g. public authority which is used to refer to 'government' or 'state authority', public expenditures, public sector)	• Of, belonging to or managed and provided by an individual or an independent company rather than the state or public body (e.g. private company, private industry, private education and health service)
• provided especially by the government, for the use of people in general (e.g. a public library, public service)	• Having no official role or position (e.g. a 'private man' which is used to refer to a citizen)
	• Being or considered unsuitable for public mention, use, or display (e.g. private relationship, private parts)
Public as a noun:	
•people in general	• Genital organs (e.g. the privates) • With no one else present (e.g. see and talk to someone in private)
•an organised body of people (e.g. community or nation)	
• a group of people who share a particular interest or who have something in common (e.g. public at the theatre or cinema, the racing public)	

Figure 3.1. Meanings of 'public' and 'private'

In sum, the meanings of 'public' and 'private' have changed and evolved throughout history; and they have become complicated concepts which comprise a wide range of meanings.

3.3 The philosophical approaches to 'public' and 'private'

3.3.1 The philosophical approaches which advocate the public-private separation

This section comprises five models which provide us with a systematic understanding of the concepts 'public' and 'private'. These are the Individualist Model, the Organic Model, the Benn

and Gaus' Model, and the public sphere theories of two prominent philosophers of the 20th century, Hannah Arendt and Jürgen Habermas.

3.3.1.1 The Individualist Model

The Individualist Model, which was advocated by Hobbes, Locke and Bentham, defines 'public' and 'private' at four distinct levels (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 48). These four levels seem to be separated from each other; yet there is a systematic theoretical or ideological connection among them (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 32).

At the first level, 'public' and 'private' are defined in terms of 'individual'. Individuals are considered as 'private' if they are '*assigned*' or '*specified*' (Barry, 1965: 162). Because, they have a capacity for 'self-differentiation' (i.e., they can distinguish themselves as a distinct entity from other similar entities); they have a capability for 'personal action' (i.e., they can act or behave individually); and finally they can control (extend or withhold) access to things about themselves (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 24). However, individuals are called 'public' if they are '*non-assigned*' or '*non-specified*'. Thus, 'the public' is used to refer to "an indefinite number of non-assignable individuals", or "the set of individual persons considered severally but indiscriminately, not specifically: to anybody, any person, anyone" (Barry, 1965: 192; Benn and Gaus, 1983: 34). For example, a woman sitting next to me at the train station is a 'private' individual, while anyone standing at the train station is called 'public'.

The second level takes into account 'aggregation' or 'a group of people'. A group of individuals is 'private' if the group is made up of '*specified*' individuals, i.e. particular persons who are known and specifiable to one another (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 35). A family, a gentlemen's club or a business organisation can exemplify private groups. The boundaries of the concept of 'private', here, are determined by 'common consent' (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 35). An aggregation of individuals is called 'public' if it is related to '*everyone*' or '*all members of the society*' (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 39). For example, everyone in a crowd making a demonstration or watching a concert is called 'public'. Yet, there are some exceptions, as explained below:

> Something is public ..., if everyone, or at least everyone in some relevant set, has the same interest in it or is otherwise related to it in the same way. It might be said, for instance, that 'public curiosity has been awakened' or 'the public demands to know'; although it may not be literally true that absolutely everyone is curious or demanding, the general idea is that so many individuals are at one on the matter that the exceptions be reasonably disregarded. (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 35)

As for the third level, it is concerned with the definition of 'public' and 'private' regarding an institution as a corporate agent. An institution is 'private' if it "has a kind of corporate identity, a constitution, however informal, that enables one to ascribe to its actions, decisions and responsibility without, however, ascribing those actions etc. severally to every member" (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 39). On the other hand, a public institution is one which ascribes its actions, decisions and responsibility to all members of the society (Oakeshott, 1975: 147). For instance, the Automobile Association (AA) is a private corporation serving only its members, while a local authority has a responsibility to serve the whole community. Individualists also consider religion as private.

The Individualist Model also identifies the public-private nature of an institution according to the criterion 'interest'. Private institutions are "vehicles through which individuals pursue their own private interests" (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 39). There are some exceptions among private agencies, such as private charitable organisations which do not only regard their own private interest. Yet, the common point of all private agencies is that they have no obligation to conduct their affairs for the sake of public interest. In contrast, public agencies are the institutions which pursue the policies which should be in the public interest. In addition, for individualists, public and private institutions can be distinguished according to whom they represent. Private institutions represent private individuals or a private group of individuals, whereas public agencies, i.e. the state, represent every person of the aggregation. In other words, to individualists, the liberal state is "the institutional embodiment of everyone"; it is not "the instrument of specific persons or devoted to promoting specific goals or purposes" (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 40).

The fourth level is concerned with '*the generalised abstraction of the private and the public'*. It seeks to draw a boundary between civil society and state, the market economy and polity, and private and public sectors. At this level, the civil society refers to 'private', while public authority refers to 'public' (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 41). The distinction between public and private is based on 'contractual theory' which suggests that private individuals need an authoritative co-ordination, particularly when they contract to pursue their common interests (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 41-42). Public authority arises out of this need of civil society, introduces a polity and performs to order social and economic relations in the society, to impede conflicts among individuals and thus to further private interests (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 42). According to the individualists, "...the polity (*and thus public authority*) exists for the sake of civil society; it provides the framework –and hence the constraint- that enables civil society to prosper" (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 42; italics added).

Further to the distinction between civil society and public authority, individualists see the market economy as an extension of 'private', and the polity as the extension of 'public' (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 42). In addition, they define private sector as an extension of civil society, while they see public sector as the state agencies which perform in the economic arena (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 42-43).

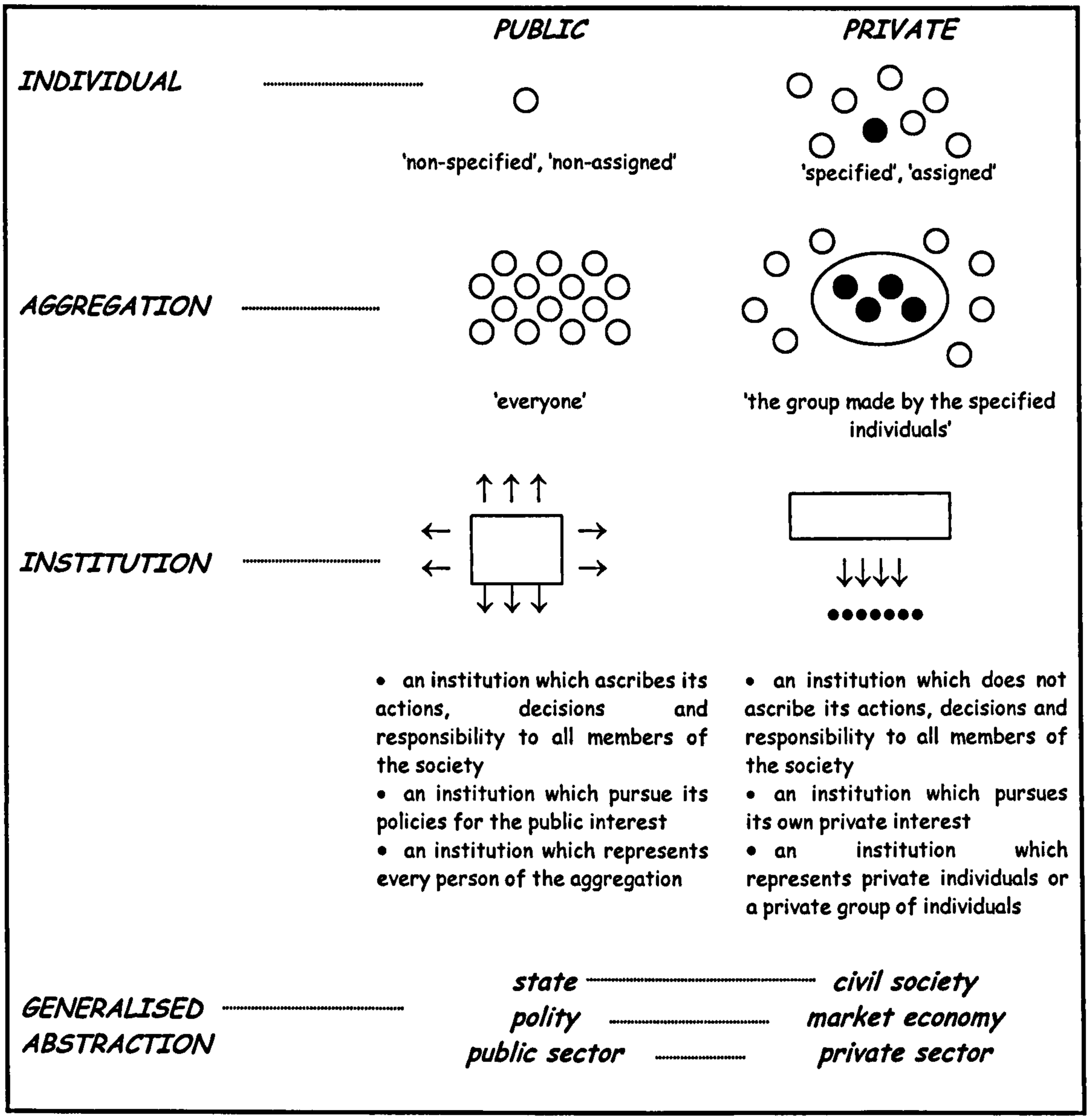

Figure 3.2. 'Public' and 'Private' in the Individualist Model

The Individualist Model draws a sharp distinction between 'public' and 'private'. In this sense, it does not help us to understand the concepts which contain both public and private aspects or which are neither 'public' nor 'private'. First, a philanthropist, private charitable organisations, the welfare economy, a public transportation service which is run by a private company, or a

service which is produced by public agencies to profit cannot be explained through the Individualist Model. Second, regarding the definition of 'the public' and 'civil society', the Individualist Model contains a contradiction in itself. According to the model, 'the public' is defined as 'the aggregate of individuals'; while civil society is seen as private. Civil society is made up of non-specified individuals; it cannot be called, therefore, private. Third, considering the concept 'public interest', 'public participation' or 'public life', Benn and Gaus (1983: 44-48) point out that the model is not able to bear the full weight of the idea of 'public'. For example, when 'public interest' is examined, defining it as 'the interest of everyone' is not sufficient. The concept needs to be more specific, such as 'the interest which is common to, or shared by everyone', or 'the benefit of something which is equally important for everybody' (Barry, 1965: 190-192; Benn and Gaus, 1983: 44-45). Otherwise, some policies, such as the policies which try to protect the environment from pollution, cannot be considered as policies serving the 'public interest', since they do not serve the interest of industrialists. In addition, it is also important to note that 'public interest' is in the interest of everyone, no matter what the role of each individual is (Barry, 1965: 229-236). For example, clean air is in the public interest, even though the interest of industrialists will be negatively affected. Besides, public interest should be also seen as "the interest of the typical or representative citizen who has no special interest at stake" (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 46). In other words, public interest should be in the interest of everyone, even some private companies which make money cleaning up the polluted environment. As for the concept of 'public participation' or 'public life', the Individualist Model cannot explain why a private individual should be interested in an activity related to the polity due to its sharp distinction between civil society and state. Nevertheless, the development of the second liberal approach stands on the need to fill some of these gaps with regard to the definition of 'public' and 'private'.

3.3.1.2 The Organic Model

The Organic Model, which was advocated by Hegel and Rousseau, establishes the concepts of 'public' and 'private' with regard to '*social group*' rather than '*individual*' (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 48). Similar to the Individualist Model, it defines 'public' and 'private' in four modes which are individual, institutional, practical and abstract.

The first mode, which is called '*the publicness of wholes and the privateness of aggregation*', sets the main distinction between 'public' and 'private' by a fundamental contrast between 'a mere aggregate' and 'an organic unity'. In this mode, an aggregation signifies "a collection of private, particular persons", whereas an organism is an "organised body, consisting of mutually connected and dependent parts constituted to share a common life" (Hobhouse, 1921: 27; Benn and Gaus,

1983: 49). Thus, an aggregation implies a collection of isolated individuals who are independent of each other. Yet, an organism constitutes individuals who are interdependent on each other.

Based on these two concepts, organicists define 'public' as "that which pertains to the whole, i.e., the general", and 'private' as "that which concerns group and individuals in their particularity" (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 50). Here, 'particular' does not refer to 'that which concerns a specific person' but rather 'that which relates to any or every person apart from his character as a member of the whole' (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 50). However, the 'general' is not the 'unspecified', but rather 'that which pertains to the organised body as a whole' (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 50). So, organicists put forth that "privateness is a characteristic of aggregations of particulars", whereas publicness is a feature of an organic whole whose parts are interdependent on each other (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 55). For example, according to the Organic Model, people living in the same country, having the same national identity, constitute an organic unit. Thus, they are considered as 'public'. People who live in the same country but do not pertain to the same national identity are not a part of this organic unit; they are then 'private'.

The second mode is named as '*the publicness of the state and the privateness of civil society*'. The state is defined as the institutional realisation of a 'public' (Hegel, 1952: 155-160). It is shown as a political association which "provides the institutional structure that integrates and organises the whole", since it "helps provide the boundaries of a 'people' (i.e., it establishes the rules for the relations among individuals or groups of individuals); and it plays a crucial role for the civil society by pursuing collective goals (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 50-51). However, civil society and family are described as the institutional realisation of 'private'. They "provide the institutional framework within which individuals, socially aggregated by the necessity of competition and collaboration, pursue their particular, i.e. private, ends" (Hegel, 1952; 122-126; Benn and Gaus, 1983: 51).

The third mode attempts to define public and private life as '*the practical realisation of publicness and privateness*'. According to organicists, public life is concerned with "the general affairs of the community", but it is not necessarily confined to the affairs of government (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 52). However, private life refers to 'domestic life' or 'family life'. Private life is defined as the realm "in which the particular concerns, interests and needs of individuals are dominant and from which political and other public matters are largely excluded[1]" (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 54).

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[1]Benn and Gaus (1983: 57) note the discussion about the family which is considered as an aggregation by some and an organic whole by others. Those who see the family as 'private', put forth that "although each family forms a small

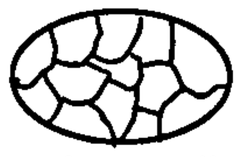
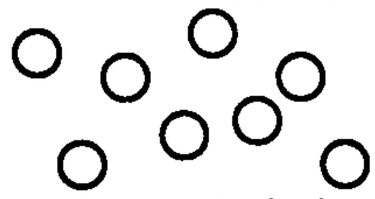
		PUBLIC 'an organic unit'	PRIVATE 'a mere aggregate'
INDIVIDUAL	.....	 'general', 'that which pertains to the organised body as a whole'	 'particular', 'that which relates to any or every person apart from his character of the whole'
INSTITUTION	.....	'state', 'the institutional structure that integrates and organises the whole'	'family' and 'civil society', 'the institutional framework within which, individuals socially aggregated by the necessity of competition and collaboration, pursue their particular, i.e. private, ends
PRACTICAL REALISATION	.....	'public life' 'life which concerns the general affairs of the community; not necessarily confined to the affairs of government'	'private life' 'life in which the particular concerns, interests and needs of individuals are dominant and from which political and other public matters are largely excluded'
GENERALISED ABSTRACTION	.....	*dual capacity of citizens*	.....

Figure 3.3. 'Public' and 'Private' in the Organic Model

The fourth mode is based on the principle of '*the individualised realisation of the public and private*'. It shows the dual capacity of individuals as being part of both public and private spheres (Hegel, 1952: 200-201; Tussman, 1970: 26).

> The division of social life into public and private spheres implies that every individual who participates in both domains will have a public and private aspect. As a participant in civil society, the economy, the family etc., he will pursue his own particular goals and interests. But as a member of the organic whole he will have a public character; he will share a common life with his fellow citizens, giving rise to common concerns, interests etc. (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 56)

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organic association, in relation to the community they are particularistic and private"; because the will of family yield only a 'will of all' rather than a 'general will' which is yielded in public life (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 55). However, some argue that the family may well be a perfect organic whole, since "family life as a sharing of experiences and concerns is not unlike the common life of the community ..." (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 55).

As it is possible to note, the Organic Model explains some concepts, like public life and public participation, more clearly than the Individualist Model. When 'public interest' is concerned, the Organic Model gives us a chance to define it as 'the general benefit', or 'the interest of a whole or an organic unit'. In this sense, the Organic Model provides a better description than the Individualist Model does. However, defining 'public interest' as 'the interest of an organic unit', the Model restricts the meaning of this concept. For instance, according to the Organic Model, clean air is in the public interest if it serves the organic unity. However, according to the Model, clean air is not in the public interest if it serves an aggregate of private individuals (such as a group of foreigners who live in the same place without bearing any organic relation to each other). Second, the Organic Model cannot explain the concepts that constitute both public and private aspects, such as private charitable organisations, welfare economy, a public service provided by a private company or a public agency which pursue its own particular interest. Besides, Benn and Gaus (1983: 57) criticise the Organic Model by noting that the model "does not seem to capture the importance of private life and privacy in liberalism", since it does not take into account the experience of an individual who is aware of himself as a distinct centre of consciousness.

3.3.1.3 The Benn and Gaus' Model

Criticising the Individualist and the Organic Models, Benn and Gaus (1983) developed a model which seeks to make a much clearer distinction of public and private. They define 'public' and 'private' according to three criteria which are '*access*', '*agency*' and '*interest*'.

The criterion of '*access*' includes four sub-dimensions, first of which is the '*physical access*'. Benn and Gaus (1983: 7) argue that "places and spaces, … are public when anyone is entitled to be physically present in them; they are private when someone, or some group, having the right of access, can choose whether to deny or allow access to others". The second sub-dimension is the '*access to activities and intercourses*'. The activities and intercourses which are open to all are called 'public', whereas those which are restricted to persons with specific rights to attend (such as invited guests or club members) are recognised as 'private' (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 7). Another sub-dimension is the '*access to information*' which is related to the control of dissemination of information. According to Benn and Gaus (1983: 8, italics added), a piece of information will be 'private', if "no one but oneself ... (*has*) access to it", and "the access ... (*is*) under one's own control". However, a piece of information is public if it is available to all interested members of the society (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 8). For instance, information about someone's personal life is private, while information on the Internet or in data banks are public. The extent of the 'publicness' of a piece of information is a matter of publicity. As Gavison (1983: 114) also states, "the more widely known an item of information is, the more 'public' it seems and vice versa". For

example, information about individuals' personal lives becomes public, as soon as they present and reveal it in public. The last sub-dimension is the '*access to resources*'. Resources which are 'public' are open to the use of everyone in the society, whereas 'private' resources are the ones whose uses are restricted to an individual or a group, such as their owner (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 8).

The second criterion is '*agency*'. If agents act on their own account, they are called 'private agents'. However, they are considered 'public', when they act on an account of a city, community, commonwealth, or state (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 9). According to Benn and Gaus, the public-private nature of resources is also identified according to the criterion '*agency*'. That is, "if someone is entitled to use a stock of resources, to invest it, to sell it or give it away, to grant or withhold access to it, and if the warrant or entitle derives from no public office that he holds, the resources are private" (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 9). However, resources are public when equivalent things are done by the authorisation of public agents.

The last criterion is 'interest'. "The interest dimension of the public-private distinction is concerned with the status of the people who will be better or worse off for whatever is in question" (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 10). Thus, identifying who will get the benefit as a result of the use of resources enables us to make the public-private distinction.

> A private business is private in this dimension in respect of the standing of its beneficiaries (the proprietors or shareholders, or perhaps its directors) whose advantage or profit is supposed to be the ultimately regulative end of its operations. By contrast, the supposed end of a public enterprise is to serve the public interest (providing either a service to any or every member of the community or to the state considered as res publica). (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 10)

Benn and Gaus (1983) point out three different senses of 'public' and 'private' which are descriptive, normative and prescriptive (or moral), and they note two characteristics of the relation between 'public' and 'private' which are 'dichotomy and continuity', and 'bi-polarity and multi-polarity'. The Benn and Gaus Model provides us with a very clear separation of 'public' and 'private' through three criteria. Nevertheless, according to the Model, whether the concept of 'civil society' is 'public' or 'private' is not clear.

3.3.1.4 The public sphere theory of Hannah Arendt

The public sphere theory of Hannah Arendt relates to the description of the society which is based on the tripartite relation between public, private and social realms (Figure 3.4). It suggests a sharp separation of public and private spheres which is modelled on the organisation of the public and

private realms in ancient Greece (Canovan, 1974; Benhabib, 1992; Arendt, 1997; Steinberger, 1999). Arendt argues that, in ancient Greece, the separation between the private and public realms was based on the ideas of 'necessity' and 'freedom'. Hence, according to her, 'private realm' is the outcome of 'necessity' (Canovan, 1974: 61). More specifically, it is the realm of household or family, as well as a personal realm, a sheltered and protected realm of intimacy (Arendt, 1997: 67; Benhabib, 1992: 74; Canovan, 1974: 61; Steinberger, 1999: 295).

According to Arendt, the public realm is the realm of 'freedom' (Canovan, 1974: 61). This is the realm in which free people meet each other to discuss their common affairs (Canovan, 1961: 74). There is no place for force or despotism in the public realm (Canovan, 1961: 74). Thus, the public realm of Arendt is characterised by 'equality', 'persuasion' and 'freedom' (Canovan, 1974: 61). Besides, Arendt describes the public sphere as the arena of 'openness' and 'publicity'. She (1958: 50) says that "Everything that appears in public can be seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity". The public realm is, therefore, the locus where realities appear in public. In addition, according to Arendt (1958: 52), the public realm is the place which gathers and relates people; yet it prevents them from falling over each other. In this sense, the public sphere is the world which relates and separates people at the same time.

> (*the public sphere*) ...is the common meeting ground of all, those who are present have different locations in it, and the location of one can no more coincide with the location of another than the location of two objects. Being seen and being heard by others derive their significance from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position. This is the meaning of public life, ... (Arendt, 1958: 57, italics added)

According to Arendt, the public realm is the locus of politics and political actions (Steinberger, 1999: 295). Private individuals get together in the public realm for political action, such as for a revolution, a protest against the decision to build a nuclear power station or a demonstration for higher salaries (Canovan, 1974: 69). Arendt puts forth the idea that public arenas can emerge unpredictably from nowhere, just as they can disappear unpredictably (Canovan, 1974: 69). She underlines the necessity of a permanent public sphere by pointing out the importance of political institutions which will provide "some more or less permanent framework to shelter and preserve the public arena for future generations and to restrain the unpredictability of action within minimum limits" (Canovan, 1974: 69). She also points out the importance of the role of law-making (and legislation) which is to draw the boundaries within which political action can take place (Canovan, 1974: 69).

Arendt claims that a sharp separation between public and private is essential (Steinberger, 1999: 295; Arendt, 1997: 67). According to her, politics and political action cannot occur in an

environment where public-private separation is blurred (Steinberger, 1999: 295). Besides, she (1997: 68) argues that private life which is spent entirely in public becomes shallow; and loses its depth.

As for the third party of the relation, Arendt defines the social realm as the arena that includes the activities which were once private; yet they have moved increasingly into the public realm, and caused the erosion of the original sense of the public-private distinction and forced the re-definition of what the public realm constitutes (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 18). For example, economic and commercial activities, religion and professionals are the activities that she classifies under social realm (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 18).

When the position of the state is considered, Arendt places it at the opposite side of the public, private and social realms (Figure 3.4). She defines the state by such features as government, rule, force and sovereignty (Canovan, 1974: 67).

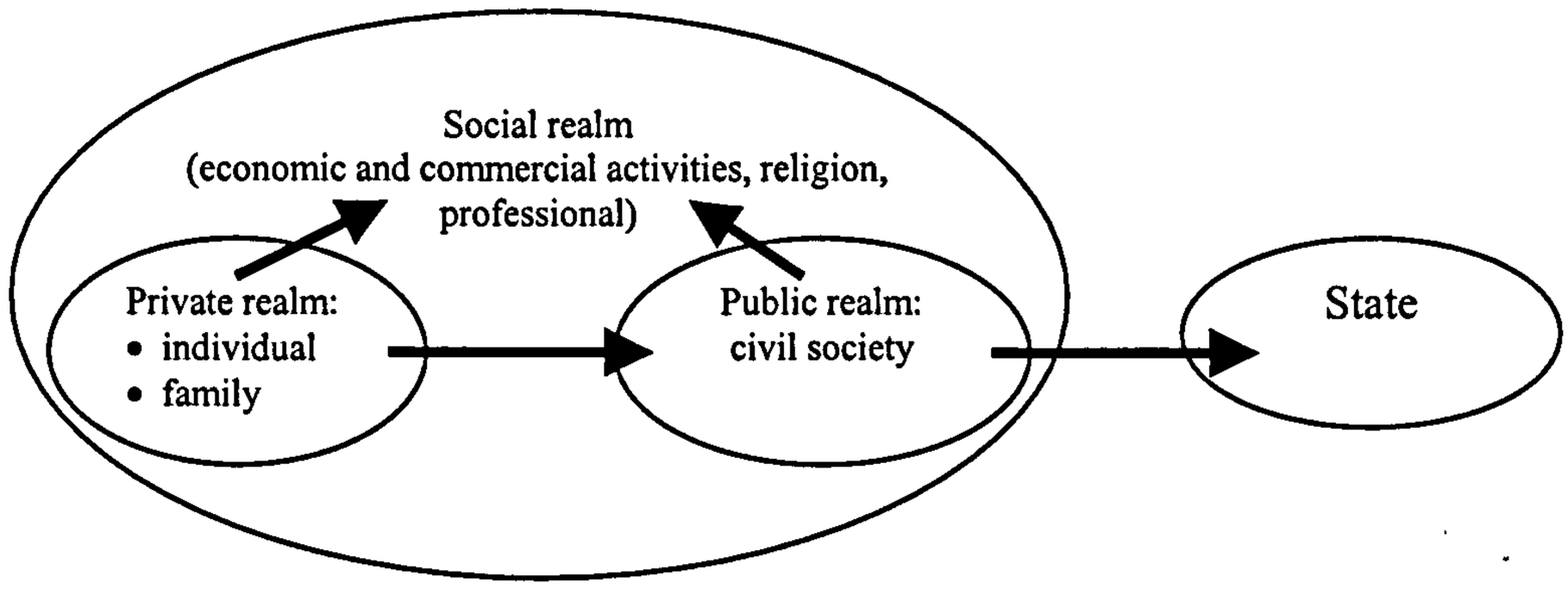

Figure 3.4. The relation between public, private and social realms, and the state

Canovan (1974: 77-78) criticises the public sphere model of Arendt in terms of two aspects. First, she (1974: 77) notes a problem of scale for the public sphere of Arendt, asking how large the public sphere needs to be. For Canovan (1974: 77), the *polis*, the illuminating model as shown by Arendt, does not apply to present-day conditions; since there is a need for a public sphere where the politics at the national level can be practised. Second, Canovan (1974: 78) argues that the public sphere model of Arendt is not sufficient to describe some institutions and concepts like political parties, public deliberations of a parliament, and public speeches of politicians. According to her, the arena in which various political parties discuss their opinions cannot be described by Arendt's model of the public sphere, because political parties represent the views and interests of people (Canovan, 1974: 78).

3.3.1.5 The public sphere theory of Jürgen Habermas

Jürgen Habermas, who is one of the leaders of the Frankfurt School, also advocates a clear public-private distinction (Back, 1992: 257; Scaff, 1990: 967). In his public sphere model, he defines 'private realm' as the arena of private individuals and family, as well as the realm of the market economy and civil society (Habermas, 1989: 20; Calhoun, 1992: 7; Scaff, 1990: 967). According to Habermas, the private realm is opposed to the state; it is "one of the freedoms that has to be defended against the domination of the state" (Calhoun, 1992: 7) (Figure 3.5).

Habermas defines the state as the authority which is responsible for caring for the well-being of all citizens (Habermas, 1989: 2; Habermas, 1997: 21). Yet, he also describes it as the body which is able to extend its influence into the private sphere in order formally to guarantee the independence of non-state institutions (Outhwaite, 1996: 25). More specifically, the state is able to rewrite and extend private law as well as public law (Outhwaite, 1996: 25). Besides, the state is the body which is the executor of the public sphere; yet, it is not a part of it (Habermas, 1997: 21).

As for the 'public realm', Habermas positions it between the private realm and the state (Habermas, 1989: xi) (Figure 3.5). He describes coffee houses in England, salons and public institutions located in private homes in France and table societies in Germany as the major means of the eighteenth-century public sphere (Calhoun, 1992: 12; Howell, 1993: 310). Further, he (1997: 21) shows that newspapers, magazines, television, and radio are the prominent media of the twentieth-century public sphere. According to Habermas (1997: 21), these public sphere media create the realm of our social life in which information is transmitted; and rational-critical discussions are made. This realm is open to all (Habermas, 1997: 21). It is the sphere of 'freedom' (Habermas, 1989: 4). In this arena, ideally, people are provided with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions about matters of general interest (Habermas, 1997: 21). It is the site of 'equality' (Habermas, 1989: 4). It is based on the 'egalitarian participation and interaction of rational citizens' (Habermas, 1987: 319). Hence, it enables the democratisation of the society (Habermas, 1990: 36; Calhoun, 1992: 2).

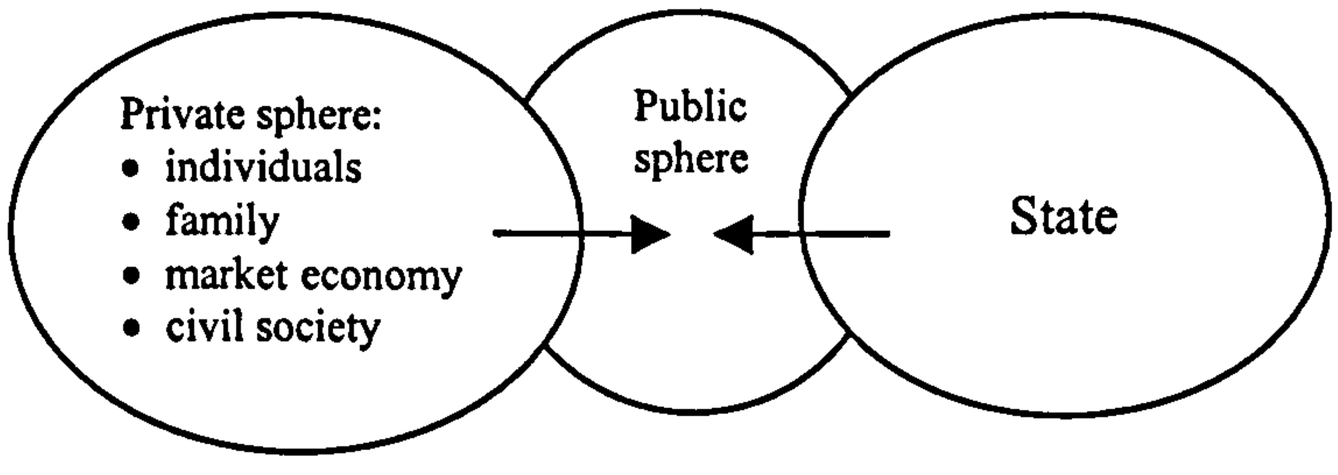

Figure 3.5. The relation between private sphere, public sphere and public authority

Habermas (1997: 21) calls people who assemble to make critical-rational discussions, to express and publish their opinion in the public realm, the 'public body'. 'Public body' is made up of private people (Ogborn, 1998: 115). He argues that the public body generates 'public opinion' through the critical-rational discussions which are carried out in the public sphere (Habermas, 1997: 21; Howell, 1993: 309). Hence, the public sphere leads to the organisation of the society as a political entity and the generation of public opinion (Habermas, 1990: 36).

Habermas (1997: 21) defines two different public spheres: (i) the literary public sphere and (ii) the political public sphere. The literary public sphere is formed when public discussions are related to anything except the activity of public authority. The issues related to trade, for example, are the matters of discussion of literary public sphere (Calhoun, 1992: 12). However, the political public sphere is formed "when public discussion deals with objects connected to the activity of the state" (Habermas, 1997: 21). Affairs of trade administration and politics are the issues of discussion of political public sphere (Calhoun, 1992: 12).

According to Habermas (1997: 21), the political public sphere is the major mediator between civil society ('the public body' as called by Habermas) and the state. It brings together both the public body and the state agents, and serves as a medium for the discussions of both parties (Calhoun, 1992: 8). For Habermas, this is the arena where the public body influences state affairs (Back, 1992: 257). He (1997: 21) says that if the exercise of political control is effectively subordinated to the democratic demand, the political public sphere wins an institutionalised influence over the government through the law-making bodies. So, ideally, in a democratic society, the public sphere is a crucial means which provides citizens with the chance to influence the practices of the state.

The public sphere that Habermas defines is an ideal of a democratic society. He (1997: 22) argues that the ideal public sphere did not always exist; and puts forth the idea that it can come into existence only when a reasoning public is presupposed. For him (1997: 22), the political public sphere came into existence in the 18th century with the emergence of a bourgeois society.

3.3.2 The philosophical approaches which object to the public-private separation

This section studies three philosophical approaches which are opposed to the public-private distinction. These are Marxist, Feminist and Postmodernist approaches.

3.3.2.1 Marxist Approach

Marx and his followers are one of the major opposition groups to the public-private separation (Kamenka, 1983; Madanipour, 1999). Marx did not discuss directly and systematically the concepts of 'public' and 'private'; yet, he objects to the public-private distinction due to his critical viewpoint on private property ownership (Kamenka, 1983: 271). Marx sees private property as one of the major features of the capitalist society; and he argues that private property (more specifically, the private control of the means of production and the division of labour) causes the alienation of individuals. That is, the private ownership and division of labour alienate individuals, as workers, from their products, from the works that they sell on the 'labour market', from other individuals who confront them as capitalists exploiting their labour or as workers competing for jobs, and from nature and society which confront them as limitations and not as fulfilment of their personality (Kamenka, 1983: 269). Further, based on the distinction between public and private, Marx discusses the separation of state and civil society as the cause of the alienation of individuals from the state.

> … civil society could become coherent only by becoming itself rational, human, universal, through being transformed into the human community. The alienation of civil society was made worse and not better by driving this alienation further and separating man's public being –the state- from man's private pursuits and setting one against the other. (Kamenka, 1983: 272)

Apart from the argument about the alienation of individuals, Marx stands opposed to the idea of the public-private separation due to the struggle of the bourgeoisie for domination over the state. According to the Marxist viewpoint, private ownership created the bourgeoisie which sought to capture and maintain dominance over the state apparatus in order to serve its own interests.

> …, the separating out of the public as a specific, partial power –the state and its bureaucracy, distinct from the rest of society- enabled the state and its bureaucracy to become or to be captured by sectional interests. The state, in short, was only an illusionary semblance of public power; it was in fact another, partial, particular, private power. By 1845, Marx had developed this into the view that the state was merely the representative of the ruling class in society and helpless before civil society, before the economic life of man. (Kamenka, 1983: 272-273)

Hence, Marxist objection to the public-private distinction stands on two outcomes of the capitalist society: the alienation of individuals from their product, from others (capitalists and other workers), from the society and from the state, and the domination of the bourgeoisie over the state. For Marx, with the abolition of private property, the division of labour (that is, with the abolition of the distinction of public and private, the individual and the social, particular and universal, civil society and state), the alienation of individuals will be overcome and the struggle for the domination over the state will disappear (Kamenka, 1983: 272-273).

3.3.2.2 Feminist Approach

Different from the Marxists, the major concern of feminists centres on the public-private distinction. In general, they find this separation insufficient and they believe that the traditional conception of public and private does not apply to everyone's life (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 18). Feminists argue that the traditional public-private distinction splits the society in terms of the realms of men and women. In other words, they associate men with the public realm and women with the private realm (Madanipour, 1999: 885; Benn and Gaus, 1983: 18). Pateman (1983: 283), for example, argues that the public-private distinction splits society, between the males who have a place in public life, and the females who do not (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 18). Benhabib (1993: 89-90) claims that the traditional definition of 'public realm' confines women to the private realm. Further, feminists argue that the public-private distinction undermines the roles of women in social life (Madanipour, 1999: 885); and it gives rise to the exclusion of women from public life (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 18; Calhoun; 1992; Fraser, 1992: 110, Ryan, 1992: 265; Tucker, 1993). Some feminists, such as Benhabib (1993: 93), find an ideological relation with the traditional concept of public and private, saying that traditional modes of drawing the public-private distinction "have been part of a discourse of domination that legitimises women's oppression and exploitation in the private realm".

Feminist literature constitutes two theses which were developed to criticise the conventional public-private distinction (Steinberger, 1999: 299). The first one is the 'thesis of identity' which was probably developed against the public-private conception of Arendt and Habermas who claim that the public realm is political, whereas the private realm is not political (Steinberger, 1999: 299). The promoters of the thesis do not accept that the public realm is the only political realm, and argue that the private realm is also political (Steinberger, 1999: 299). The second thesis is the 'thesis of inseparability'. The promoters of the thesis are not completely opposed to the idea of the public-private separation. Yet, they think that although public and private realms are different from one another, they are always and importantly connected (Steinberger, 1999: 299). Different from the liberals who promote the dichotomous relation between public and private, this feminist group points out, therefore, the continuous relation between public and private. Okin and Pateman, for example, recognise the presence of the interrelationship of the public and private realms, by claiming that public and private are interconnected; they are inseparable, but not identical (Steinberger, 1999: 299). Similarly, Eisenstein explains the interrelation between the public and the private realms as follows:

> The state is said to be public (by definition) and therefore divorced from the private realm, which is the area of women's lives. The state can appear, through its own

> ideology, to be unrelated to the family as the private sphere, when in actuality this sphere is both defined and regulated in relation to the state realm. (Eisenstein, 1993: 26, quoted in Steinberger, 1999: 297)

Fraser (1992: 137) and Ryan (1992: 285-286) go one step further and state that a single public sphere does not represent the voices of different groups, thus the public sphere should be pluralized and should become the arena which transfers the voices of the distinctive groups comprising modern society. Following a similar line, Benhabib suggests the need to remove the traditional restrictions in the definition of the public sphere, and wants to broaden the definition of the public sphere in such a way that social and family issues concerning the good life come under public scrutiny (Hohendahl, 1992). She puts the emphasis on the significance of considering some issues of the private realm (such as child rearing, care for the sick, the young and the elderly, reproductive freedom) in the public realm (Hohendahl, 1992).

In conclusion, the feminist objections to the conventional public-private separation are mainly based on the idea that the separation splits the society into the realms of men and women. For feminists, this separation brings about the exclusion of women from the public sphere and public life, and leads to the emergence of the exploitation and oppression of women in the private realm. Further, they split into two groups. One group stands completely opposed to the public-private distinction, while the other group recognises the presence of the distinction. Yet, they see the relation between the public and private realms as continuous rather that dichotomous.

3.3.2.3 Postmodernist Approach

The public sphere theory has also been subject to postmodern criticism. Postmodern theorists, like Foucault, Lyotard and Baudrillard, question the basic presuppositions of the public realm theory, particularly based on the work of Arendt and Habermas; and they raise their objections to the normative conception of the public sphere (Villa, 1992; Johnson, 1994). There are three postmodernist objections which are the *power* objection, the *epistemological* objection and the *ontological* objection (Villa, 1992; Johnson, 1994).

The first postmodernist objection, the *power* objection, challenges the idea of a 'coercion-free public realm' by theorising the nature of power in the modern age (Villa, 1992: 715). As mentioned earlier, both Arendt and Habermas see the public sphere as a political space distinct from the state and the economy, an institutionally bounded discursive arena which brings forth citizen debate, deliberation, agreement and action. Both theorists define the public realm as a 'coercion-free space'; that is an arena which not only constitutes coercion and violence, but also all relations of hierarchy or command (Villa, 1992: 712). In this arena, the interaction of

individuals is structured in accordance with norms of 'reciprocity', 'respect' and 'equality'[2]; and all parties are to reach an agreement or consensus through critical-rational debates (Villa, 1992: 713). Such a medium which is characterised by symmetry, nonhierarchy and reciprocity and where everyone shows who he is and his differences by acting and speaking, reveals 'plurality' and promotes 'equality' (Villa, 1992: 714). Based on this conception of the public sphere, Habermas explains the rise of the bourgeois public sphere in the 18th century as the emergence and foundation of a liberal democratic politics (Johnson, 1994: 428). Postmodernists, however, object to the idea of a 'coercion-free public sphere'. Foucault argues that the public sphere constitutes 'disciplinary power' which can operate in a modern society without the existence of asymmetry and hierarchy, because disciplinary power functions through insidious, continuous, ubiquitous mechanisms of surveillance and normalisation (Johnson, 1994: 428). Thus, by showing the rise of the 18th century public sphere as the development and generalisation process of disciplinary mechanisms, Foucault puts forth that disciplinary power (thus, coercion) exists in the public arena (Johnson, 1994: 428). This undermines the equality and plurality of the public sphere.

The second objection, the *epistemological* objection, focuses on the ideal of 'agreement' or 'consensus'. As mentioned earlier, the normative conception of the public sphere suggests that critical-rational discussions in the public realm bring forth a rational agreement or consensus for all parties (Villa, 1992: 715). Postmodernists argue that the discourses and debates in the public sphere may end up with a consensus or agreement; yet the agreement or consensus may not necessarily be rational or universal (Villa, 1992: 715). The postmodernist objection is rooted in their incredulity toward modernists' metanarrative of emancipation (Johnson, 1994: 428). They argue that any modernist narrative about a set of events is "necessarily incomplete, hence contestable" (Johnson, 1994: 429). Thus, the main question is whether it is possible to reach universal consensus, by standing on these incomplete and contestable modernist narratives.

Postmodernists also show incredulity toward the narrative of the public sphere (Johnson, 1994: 428). They think that the narrative of the normative public sphere "threatens to regularise –and thereby suppress- not only 'the irreducible heterogeneity of language games' but the polarity of voices that might participate in such games" (Johnson, 1994: 428). Thus, the public sphere operates as a filter which does not allow all language games and voices into the arena. This also means that the language games and voices which find the chance to be in the public sphere are the

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[2] In Villa's article, three characteristics of the normative ideal of the public sphere, i.e. 'reciprocity', respect' and 'equality', are later replaced by the concepts 'reciprocity', 'symmetry' and 'nonhierarchy'. These terms, I suppose, correspond to each other, respectively.

ones appropriate to the prescribed norms or the ones which are normalised through the filtration process. So, normative ideal of the public realm is a restrictive arena which reduces the chance of various groups or individuals to participate in it. This characteristic of the normative ideal of the public sphere undermines its plurality and equality in contrast to what Arendt and Habermas suggest. "From Lyotard's perspective, the fragmentation of the public sphere –the emergence of discordant language games that results from the postmodern death of totalising metanarratives- opens the way to forms of political practice and judgment freed from the tyranny of science or *episteme*" (Villa, 1992: 716). On the other hand, postmodernists think that the fragmentation of the public sphere will bring about plurality.

Where the *ontological* objection is concerned, postmodernists, particularly Deleuze and Baudrillard, question the 'specific reality' suggested by Arendt (Villa, 1992: 717; Johnson, 1994: 428). For Arendt, "that which "appears in public and can be seen and heard by everybody" is "real" " (Villa, 1992: 717). In other words, Arendt suggests a relation between appearance and reality to which postmodernists raise their objection. According to postmodernists, "'reality' (including the reality of appearances Arendt wants to preserve) is presently generated as a simulation effect" (Villa, 1992: 717). For example, Baudrillard (2001: 173) argues that the 'decisive turning point' is "the transition from signs which dissimulate something to signs which dissimulate that there is nothing". Hence, for postmodernists, there is no absolute or unique reality. The reality can be narrated by different people which will provide us with more than one reality. In this sense, the reality that Arendt suggests is only one of these realities.

In sum, postmodernists question, first, the conception of the public sphere which promotes the 'plurality' and 'equality' of the society, and second, the idea of a 'single reality' which become real through its appearance in the public realm. Finally, based on these criticisms, they object to the conception of the public sphere, by arguing that the discourses and debates in this realm do not truly lead to the generation of rational or universal agreements.

We have investigated so far the concepts of 'public' and 'private' and the various philosophical views which explain the public-private distinction. Based on this extensive examination, the following sections will introduce the approach of this research to the concepts of 'public space' and 'private space'.

3.4 The public space model of this research

One of the ways of organising our physical environment is to distinguish it as 'public space' and 'private space'. When we look at streets, squares and plazas of a town, we automatically consider them as public spaces. However, when we think of a garden surrounded by fences with a gate, a house, a flat and even a bedroom, we consider them as private spaces. The urban environment is not sharply separated as public and private spaces. There are also spaces which are not absolutely public or private, like a public university campus which is only used by the students and the employees, a garden which is accessible only by the people who pay the entrance fee, or a park which is only open at certain times of the day. It can be argued, therefore, that the urban environment is composed of public and private spaces with different extents of 'publicness' and 'privateness'. So, what makes us distinguish the public space from the private space? How can we define public and private spaces with various degrees of 'publicness' and 'privateness'? Inspired and influenced by Benn and Gaus (1983) who describe the concepts of 'public' and 'private' through three criteria; i.e., 'access', 'agency' and 'interest'; Madanipour (1995) who examines the 'publicness' of The Metro Centre in Gateshead (a regional-level shopping mall in Britain) by using these three criteria, and Habermas and his 'public sphere' theory, the following sections put forth the public space model which tries to answer these questions. The first section seeks to explain why we need to consider 'public space' as a four-dimensional concept. The following section describes how we can define public space and private space as regards the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. The third part defines three different uses of public space and private space: descriptive, normative and prescriptive. The subsequent section focuses on the relationship between 'public space' and 'private space'. It describes two major ways of seeing this relationship: a) dichotomous versus continuous, b) bi-polar versus multi-polar.

3.4.1 Public space as a four-dimensional concept

When public space is considered, the first thing which comes to mind is a three-dimensional environment. The image of a public space which is revealed in one's mind is more likely to be a stage or a scene which is made up of width, depth and height. A residential street, a town square, a park or a riverfront walkway have certain width, depth and height. The space that one sees as a three-dimensional world is in fact a product of a fourth dimension; i.e. 'time'. Public space, as a part of urban space, is an outcome of time; it is the end-product of a process which can be called the 'urban development process' (Healey, 1991; Madanipour, 1996). The urban development process of public space is not a one-phase process. It includes various phases and stages which contain several tasks and rules. When these phases and stages are examined, it is possible to classify the urban development process under two basic phases: (i) planning and design, and (ii)

construction (Figure 3.6). The stage of 'planning and design' is the major phase through which public space is shaped. The phase of planning and design includes a number of tasks. According to Fisher (cited in Drewett, 1973: 165) and Drewett (1973: 163), the development of urban space starts with the decision-making process about the development of a piece of land. Regarding public space, this decision is ideally to be made by the public authority; but nowadays it is quite common to see that the private sector only or both the public and private sectors make the decision to develop public space. Once the decision to develop urban space is made, if necessary, the land is purchased (Fisher, cited in Drewett, 1973: 165; Cadman and Austin-Crowe, 1978: 2). In addition, necessary arrangements (or negotiations) related to legal rights are made (Lichfield, 1956: 3; Cadman and Austin-Crowe, 1978: 5; Bryant, et. al., 1982: 54). These arrangements may include assembling land and other legal arrangements such as "subsidiary legal interests to be terminated or made terminable at short notice, rights of way to be diverted; rights of adjoining owners to be negotiated on; boundaries to be adjusted or additional land to be acquired to improve the shape of the holding" (Lichfield, 1956: 3; Bryant, et. al., 1982: 54). As well as the arrangements and negotiations, one of the major issues in the planning and design process is the preparation of the development scheme of land. This includes the survey of the site, the preparation of the design scheme for the site, the estimate of cost and financial returns on the site and acquisition of all the necessary consents, especially planning permission (Lichfield, 1956: 3; Fisher, cited in Drewett, 1973: 165; Drewett, 1973; Cadman and Austin-Crowe, 1978: 5). This phase also includes obtaining financial resources for the development; i.e. the finance necessary for the development is arranged, and agreements are made between parties who are to participate in the development of the site (Lichfield, 1956: 3; Drewett, 1973: 175).

The second phase is 'construction' in which the public space is built (Lichfield, 1956; Fisher, cited in Drewett, 1973: 165; Drewett, 1973; Bryant, et. al. 1982; Cadman and Austin-Crowe, 1978). This phase starts with the signing of contracts with a developer. Cadman and Austin-Crowe (1978: 12) note that the contract might include a number of issues, ranging from the inputs of land, finance, labour, materials to the acquisition of statutory permissions. When the construction work starts, the main task of the developers is "to ensure that the development is carried out at the appropriate speed, quality and cost" (Cadman and Austin-Crowe, 1978: 9). During this stage, some factors which cause delay and extra cost should be predicted and appropriate actions should be taken. During the construction phase, the project product might face some modifications; yet, many projects do not include very big changes.

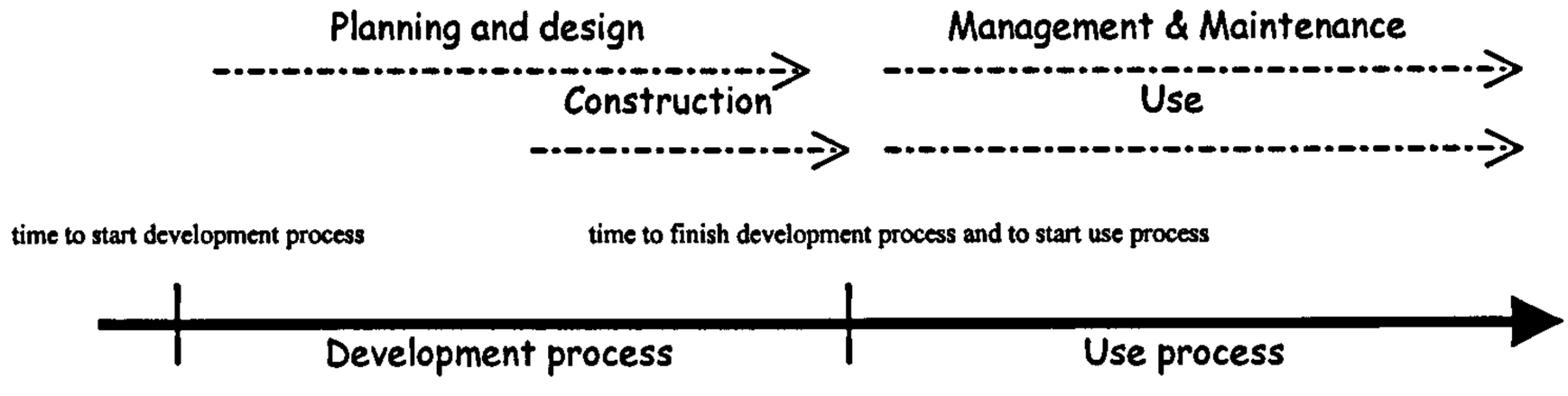

Figure 3.6. The development and use processes on a time scale

Once a public space is produced, its development process is over; and its use process starts. This process stretches from the time when the public space is built to the time when it is demolished or transformed. This process can be seen as two distinct stages: (i) Management and maintenance, and (ii) use (Figure 3.6). The 'management and maintenance' phase is the phase in which some services are provided to keep the public space in existence at the same level and standard. It includes the provision of some services such as cleaning, security and safety, and car-parking services. It also includes the services which keep the public space in good condition or working order by checking or repairing it regularly. The last phase is the phase of 'use' in which the developed public space is open to the use of all the members of the society. This phase lasts till the moment when the public space is pulled down or transformed.

3.4.2 How to define 'public space' and 'private space'

3.4.2.1 Three criteria to define 'public space' and 'private space' as four-dimensional concepts

As explained earlier, Benn and Gaus identify three criteria, i.e., *access*, *agency* and *interest* in order to make a public-private distinction. Based on these criteria, it is possible to define 'public space' and 'private space' by time dimension, i.e. their development and use processes. As explained in section 3.4.1, the development and use processes can be considered as four phases which are (i) planning and design, (ii) construction, (iii) management and maintenance, and (iv) use phases. A space can be defined as public space or private space by examining each phase of the development and use processes in terms of '*access*', '*actor*' and '*interest*' (Figure 3.7).

Stages/Criteria	ACCESS	ACTOR	INTEREST
Planning and design	Public space or Private space?	Public space or Private space?	Public space or Private space?
Construction	Public space or Private space?	Public space or Private space?	Public space or Private space?
Management and Maintenance	Public space or Private space?	Public space or Private space?	Public space or Private space?
Use	Public space or Private space?	Public space or Private space?	Public space or Private space?

Figure 3.7. The development and use processes of a public space using three criteria to make a public-private distinction

The following sections will explain how to define 'public space' and 'private space' as regards three criteria and each phase of the development and use processes.

3.4.2.1.1 Access

The criterion of '*access*' constitutes four sub-dimensions, which provide us with the definition of 'public space' and 'private space' with regard to time dimension. The first sub-dimension is '*physical access*'; that is, the access to the physical environment. Based on this criterion, public space is the space which is open to all; the place in which everybody is entitled to be physically present. Streets, town squares, plazas, green open spaces such as gardens, parks and forests are public spaces when they are accessible to all. Private space, however, is the space which is accessible to someone or some groups; an arena which entitles someone or some groups to have the right of access and the right to choose whether to deny or allow access to others. Houses, flats, bedrooms of a flat or gardens of a house are private spaces, since they are only open to certain people; and the physical accessibility of these spaces is controlled by the same person or people.

The second sub-dimension is '*access to activities and discussions or intercommunications*' which allows us to introduce the time dimension into the definition of public and private space. According to this criterion, public space is a space where the activities and discussions in its development and use processes are accessible to all. As far as the development process of a public space is concerned, its every stage includes activities and discussions. For example, the planning and design stage includes the decision-making process of developing a public space, purchasing a piece of land, making necessary arrangements and negotiations, preparing a development scheme. It also includes the survey and the estimate of cost, financial returns on the site, the acquisition of all necessary consents and financial resources. Practically speaking, it is not possible for everybody to get involved in each of these activities. However, there are some crucial activities and discussions which must be open to everybody, such as the decision-making stage of developing a public space, and the preparation process of the design scheme of a public space. As far as the construction, management and maintenance phases are concerned, it is not expected that the public get involved in the activities and discussions of these phases due to health and safety

reasons. Yet, the activities and discussions throughout the use phase must be ideally open to all, since the public space is the place where activities and discussions, which are accessible to all, take place. For this reason, markets, concerts, speeches, demonstrations, or protests are open to all if they take place in the public space. (Figure 3.8)

In contrast to public spaces, the activities and discussions in private spaces are not open to all. More specifically, regarding the development process of a private space, the activities and discussions are not expected to be open to all. Nevertheless, it is important to inform the public about the proposed plan of a private space, so that all have an opportunity to raise their voice. For instance, in the British planning system, there is a consultation period in which the opinions of the public are asked for, regarding the proposed development of a private space, before the planning authority makes its decision on granting planning permission. As for the use process, regarding the management and maintenance of private spaces, the activities and discussions are not required to be open to everybody. Similarly, parties and gatherings are restricted to certain people or groups if they take place in private spaces. (Figure 3.8)

The third sub-dimension of the criterion of '*access*' is '*access to information*'. This is another criterion which enables us to introduce the time dimension into the definition of public and private space. According to this criterion, one can define public space as the place where information related to development and use processes (i.e. the information about the planning decision, the parties which are involved in the process, the design scheme, the phases of the construction, management and maintenance services and its use) are available to all members of society. However, the information related to the development and use processes of a private space does not need to be available to everybody. Private space is a place where information related to development and use processes is only open to individuals who have the right to access and to choose whether to deny or allow access to others. (Figure 3.8)

The last sub-dimension of the criterion of 'access' is '*access to resources*'. Based on this criterion, a public space is the space where resources are accessible to all. What are the resources of a public space? Before explaining the resources of a public space, it is crucial to define what a resource is. According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 'resource' is "a supply of something that a country, an organisation or an individual has and can use, especially to increase wealth" (Crowther, 1995: 999). For example, natural resources such as oil, coal and gas are resources, since a country, an organisation, or an individual can have and use them to increase wealth. But, according to the same dictionary, it is not necessary to consider something as resource if it does not increase wealth. A 'resource' is also "a thing that gives help, support or

comfort when needed" (Crowther, 1995: 999). For example, a table can be seen as resource, since it can help to be used to eat, drink, study, and carry out household works. Hence, it gives help, support or comfort for the members of household to satisfy their daily needs, which do not serve particularly for increasing their wealth. On the basis of the two meanings of 'resources' and with the help of the six roles of public spaces described in section 2.2, it is possible to define resources of public space.

First of all, public space contains 'economic resources', since it comprises economic value because of the land value and the values of the assets that it contains. Thus, it has resources to increase wealth. Second, public space has 'symbolic resources'. The symbolic meanings and values that public space contains, gives help, support and comfort for the creation of the sense of community for a group, or a society, and the emergence of the social coherence between diverse groups. Public space comprises, therefore, symbolic resources for the development of a peaceful and harmonious society. Third, public space, itself, is a resource. With regard to its physical role, it performs as the communication channel of cities, contributes to visual enhancement, and improves environmental health. Thus, it not only enables people, objects or information to move from one sector of a city to another, but also it improves and enhances the aesthetic and environmental quality of the city. These roles enable it to be a resource, since it can be used to increase wealth of a country, a society, or organisations and individuals. But, as we will explain under the criterion of 'interest', public space should be particularly used for the purpose to increase public wealth (or 'public interest') rather than private wealth ('private interest'). Besides, these roles enable public space to give help, support or comfort for daily life of citizens. It becomes, therefore, a resource for the city through its physical roles. As well as its physical roles, public space is a resource with its political roles. It helps, supports and comforts the practice of democracy by enabling free social interaction to take place. In this sense, it is the resource for the members of a society to practice and experience democracy. Finally, public space can be seen as a resource with respect to its socio-psychological roles. It can provide, help, support and comfort the mental and psychological health and the personal development of human beings. Hence, public space is the resource for individuals to nourish and enhance their psychological and mental well-beings. So, all these resources must be open to the use of all if a space is to be a public space. (Figure 3.8.)

However, a private space is a place where resources are only accessible to certain people. Like public space, private space contains economic and symbolic resources. As far as 'economic resources' are concerned, public space contains an economic value which is the value of the land and the value of the assets that it contains. These assets can be natural assets (like vegetation, a

stream or river, underground water, a coal or gold mine or oilfields) and man-made assets (such as buildings and physical infrastructure), which directly help to increase wealth. Private space comprises, therefore, economic resources. Private space also includes 'symbolic resources'. Since it is one of the indications of wealth, it provides its owner with a social status or position in the society. In other words, the symbolic meaning of private space gives help, support and comfort to enhance the social status or position of its owner in the society. In addition, private space is one of the symbols of 'home'. Particularly being a shelter for personal and private life, private space provides an arena to protect privacy and intimate relationships of individuals. In other words, it helps, supports and provides comfort for the psychological and mental well-being of individuals by helping them to draw a line between public and private life. Thus, private space comprises symbolic resources. All these resources are only open to their owners and the people that are entitled to access it if a space is to be private (Figure 3.8).

3.4.2.1.2 Actor

Public and private spaces can also be defined according to the public-private nature of actors that are involved in and control the development and use processes of the space. Different from Benn and Gaus' Model, this research tends to call both agent and agency 'actors'. When the meanings of 'agent' and 'agency' are examined, it is possible to see that the 'agent' signifies a person and the 'agency' refers to a business or organisation. In cases where the term 'actor' is used, it is possible to refer to both individuals and organisations.

Based on Benn and Gaus' Model, it is possible to define private space as the place which is owned, planned, designed, constructed, maintained, managed and used by private actors (Figure 3.8). Private actors mean the agents or agencies who/which act on their own account. They can be individuals (for example, Mr Michael Johnson, or Mrs Claire Atkinson), groups (for instance, females, children, disabled people, or bus passengers) or organisations (i.e. private companies and corporations, such as a private bus company, bank, consultancy company, or retail company). It should be noted that the definition of private space indicates that private actors are involved in, and control the development and use processes of the private space.

As far as the public space is concerned, it is the place which is owned, planned, designed, constructed, maintained and managed by public actors and used by the public (Figure 3.8). There are two main concepts which need to be defined. The first one is 'public actors' which mean the agents or agencies which act on an account of a community, city, commonwealth or state. For example, public officers, public prosecutors, local and central government agencies, or public corporations are the 'public actors', because their decisions and actions are accountable to a city,

community, commonwealth or state. They can always be asked to justify whether their actions are in conformity with their obligations circumscribed by laws (Benn and Gaus, 1983: 10). Regarding the public space, it is practically impossible for a piece of land to be owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed and maintained by hundreds or thousands of people. There should be an accountable body which is responsible for carrying out these tasks on behalf of people in general. This accountable body is the 'public actor'; i.e., the agencies which are responsible for owning, planning, designing, constructing, managing and maintaining public space on behalf of the people in general.

The second concept is 'the public' which refers to 'people in general', 'all members of the society' or 'the aggregate of private actors'. It is a concept which comprises a variety and diversity of individuals and groups. These individuals and groups can be grouped in various ways, such as in terms of income (low, middle or high income groups), gender (men or women), or age (children, teenagers, or old people). This list can be extended according to class relations, ethnicity, religion, race, profession, disabilities, and so on. Hence, the concept of 'the public', as the people in general, constitutes a variety and diversity of individuals and groups; in other words, private actors. The more variety and diversity of individuals and groups it contains, the more public it is. Besides, 'the public' is a concept which is defined according to 'size' or 'the number of people who are involved'. The size of 'the public' changes in terms of the significance of the issue which is concerned. Regarding public spaces, for instance, 'the public' refers to the people living in the same neighbourhood' if a public space at the neighbourhood level is considered. However, 'the public' implies all inhabitants of a city, as far as a public space at the city scale is concerned. Plazas or squares in city centre, parks or boulevards which serve all the citizens are the examples of such public spaces. Similarly, there are some public spaces which are the concern of the people living in the same region or country. At this point, 'the public' means 'the inhabitants of the region' or 'the people living in the country'. Thus, 'the public' is a notion which can be described on various and diverse levels and sizes. Based on these explanations, it is possible to define the 'civil society' as 'the public'.

As can be seen, the definitions of 'public space' and 'private space', which are mentioned above, are based on the actors who control the development and use processes. Public and private space can also be defined with regard to the involvement of actors in the development and use processes. Private space is the place where development and use processes involve private actors. However, public space is the place where development and use processes involve the public and public actors. As argued above, public actors are responsible for providing public space. While carrying out this responsibility, a public body needs to know the expectations of the public.

Otherwise, the public authority is more likely to produce a public space which does not satisfy the needs and expectations of the public. The importance of the involvement of the public in the development process arises at this point. As each of these individuals and groups has different expectations about the public space which is developed, it is important to create a public arena where individuals express their opinions and raise their voices about the public space which is to be developed. Goheen describes this public arena as follows:

> Citizens create meaningful public space by expressing their attitudes, asserting their claims and using it for their own purposes. It thereby becomes a meaningful public resource. The process is a dynamic one, for meanings and uses are always liable to change. Renegotiation of understandings is ongoing; contention accompanies the process. (Goheen, 1998: 479)

Not only the public, but also a public authority has a chance to express its own opinions, and to learn the expectations of the public through this forum. As well as providing and controlling public space, a public authority is, therefore, also responsible for guaranteeing the existence of this arena for the public to express their views and expectations.

Based on this argument, it is also possible to define public space as the space which is developed through the presence of a public forum in which the public and public actors are involved, in order to express, exchange and influence opinions with regard to the public space which is to be built (Figure 3.8). This is the way public interest arises, as explained in the next section.

3.4.2.1.3 Interest

Public space is the place which serves the public interest (that which is in the best interests of all members of the society). For example, a street, a town square and a park are public spaces, since they create a benefit for all. Based on the discussions in section 3.3.1.1, it is possible to define public interest as 'the interest which is common to, or shared by everyone', 'the benefit of something which is equally important for everybody', 'the benefit of everyone, no matter what the role of each individual is'.

Private space, however, is the space which serves the private interest; i.e., the benefit which is controlled and received by private actors. Spaces such as a golf club which is open only to its members, a residential site which is surrounded by high walls, guarded by private security guards and accessible only to its residents and the people who are allowed to enter the site are private, since they serve only the interest of certain people.

The definitions above depend on 'who receives the interest'. It is also possible to define 'public interest' and 'private interest' in terms of 'who determines it'. Minor (1962) defines public and private interests with respect to the consequences of individuals' behaviour in human associations. For him (1962: 27), private interest is generated when the consequences of human associations are experienced and controlled directly. If they cannot be experienced and controlled directly, public interest is generated (Minor, 1962: 27). For Minor, the body, which should control the indirect consequences of human association, is the state; that is, the authority which is made up of the representatives of the group. Although the state should be responsible for making decisions on what public interest is, there must be an arena where the people and their representatives discuss the consequences of the behaviour of human associations. According to Minor (1962: 28), "without shared responsibility on the part of both the people and their representatives to analyse and criticise the consequences of their own behaviour, there can be no public and no public interest". Similar to Minor's argument, Friedmann underlines the significance of the presence of the public for the public interest to be created. He (1987: 10-11) claims that 'public interest' is the interest which cannot be determined without the public. Another scholar, Colm, also argues that the public interest is determined through the process of the political debates among different groups in a society, by stating that:

> In each individual or in each group of individuals, the personal interests and the concepts of the public interest are present in varying degrees. Each emphasizes this or that aspect of the public interest in accordance with his own perspectives, which is itself largely influenced by his own perspective, which is itself largely influenced by his own position in society and his own interests. Thus the mixture of personal and general interests differs in various groups and individuals, but from these varying emphases a consensus emerges as to what constitutes the public interest within the frame of reference of the particular society and culture. (Colm, 1962: 121)

Thus, based on Colm's argument, one can state that the public interest is the reconciliation of private and common interests; it is the outcome of a consensus of these interests.

Raz (1994: 46) defines 'private interest' as "personal welfare"; that is, "that which is good for him, i.e. that which makes his life intrinsically a better life, better not for others or for a cause but in itself as a human life" (Raz, 1994: 46). According to Raz (1994: 52), public interest is "'general, or common good or interest' in its traditional sense, in which it refers not to the sum of the good of individuals but to those goods which, in a certain community, serve the interest of people generally in a conflict-free, non-exclusive, and non-excludable way". He (1994: 52) refers to the public interest as 'collective good'; and adds that "its enjoyment by one person does not detract from its enjoyment by others". Raz (1994: 57) suggests that what is and what is not in the public interest is a political issue. He (1994: 57) argues that "the politics of the common good

differ from the politics of conflicting interests", because "beliefs about the general principles defining the common good of a society constitute much of the common political culture of that society". Many detailed issues of the common good are subject to controversy, but "its general principles are agreed upon at least by central sections of the population" (Raz, 1994: 57).

To sum up, private interest is the personal good, individual benefit and welfare which is controlled and received by private actors. Public interest, however, is the interest which is received by all members of the society. It is the benefit of something which is equally important for everybody, and it is for the benefit of everyone, no matter what the role of each individual is. In other words, its enjoyment by one person or one group should not detract from its enjoyment by others. In addition, the public interest is the benefit which is determined in the public realm through discussions made by the public and public actors. It is the outcome of the reconciliation of private and common interests. In other words, it is subject to the consent of the majority of the public and private actors. Figure 3.8 sums up the definitions of public or private spaces given above.

	PUBLIC SPACE	PRIVATE SPACE
Access:		
• *Physical access*	A space which is accessible to all	A space which is accessible to someone or some groups.
• *Access to activities and discussions*	A space where the activities and discussions in its development and use processes are accessible to all.	A space where the activities and discussions in its development and use processes are accessible to someone or some groups.
• *Access to information*	A space where the information related to the development and use processes are accessible to all.	A space where the information related to the development and use processes are accessible to someone or some groups.
• *Access to resources*	A space where the resources are accessible to all.	A space where the resources are accessible to someone or some groups.
Actor:	A space which is owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed and maintained by public actors; i.e. the agents or agencies who/which act on behalf of a community, city, commonwealth or state. A space which is used by the public. A space where the development and use processes involve the public and public actors. A space which is developed through the presence of a public forum, in which the public and public actors are involved, in order to express, exchange and influence opinions with regard to the public space which is to be built.	A space which is owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed, maintained and used by private actors; i.e. the agents or agencies who/which act on their own account. A space where the development and use processes involved the private actors.
Interest	A space which serves the public interest (that which is in the best interests of all members of the society; 'the interest which is common to, or shared by everyone', 'the benefit of something which is equally important for everybody', 'the benefit of everyone, no matter what the role of each individual is'; the interest which is determined in the public realm through discussions made by the public and public actors; the outcome of the consent of the majority of the public and private actors.	A space which serves private interest; i.e. the benefit which is controlled and received by individuals.

Figure 3.8. The definitions of 'public space' and 'private space' with regard to three major criteria; i.e. access, actor and interest

3.4.2.2 Three different uses of public space and private space: descriptive, prescriptive and normative

As explained above, public and private space can be defined by the criteria '*access*', '*actor*' and '*interest*'. As well as these criteria, it is possible to note that both concepts are used in daily life in three different ways which are descriptive, normative and prescriptive. As far as the '*descriptive*' use of 'public' and 'private' is concerned, it is, first, worth looking up the meaning of 'descriptive'. The term 'descriptive' signifies "giving a picture in words; describing something, especially without expressing feelings or judging" (Crowther, 1995: 314). Thus, one can describe 'public' and 'private' based on one's observations. The following can be shown as an example of the descriptive use of a public space:

> The forum was not simply an open square. As it developed in Rome, it was rather a whole precinct, complex in layout, in which shrines and temples, the halls of justice and council houses, and open spaces framed by stately colonnades played a part. Within these open spaces orators could address large crowds; while for inclement weather large halls, basilicas, served in many capacities. … whatever took place in the market square might take place in the basilica, though it was chiefly devoted to business transactions and the administration of justice. The simplicity of the forum itself lent it to a variety of purposes: not least, finally, to that of a religious congregation. (Mumford, 1961: 221-222)

As can be noted, Mumford defines the Forum as a public space according to its physical form, and the functions and activities taking place in it, the type of people who use it, without expressing feelings or judging. Based on this description, it is possible to understand clearly that the Forum, as a public space, is an open space which is accessible to all. Besides, it is the locus of a number of activities which are also open to everybody. So, the descriptive use of 'public space' and 'private space' gives a clear message about these concepts without expressing feelings and judgment.

Another use of 'public space' and 'private space' is '*normative*'. 'Normative' refers to "describing or setting standards or rules of language or behaviour which should be followed" (Crowther, 1995: 788). That is, what is private or public is determined "under existing system of norms, either social or legal" (Gavison, 1983: 115). The widely accepted and experienced rules, norms and codes in a society over a long period of time formulate 'private' and 'public' in social life. Gates, walls which surround an estate, security guards standing by the entrance of a house, indicate a private space, while a space without any physical restriction, such as an immense beach, a green area, or the places through which people commute every day, like a street of a city, a town square, or a town moor are seen as public spaces.

When the 'prescriptive' use of 'public space' and 'private space' is considered, any instruction about how a public space or a private space should be is prescriptive. For example, a statement telling that a public space is the place which should be open to all, managed and maintained by a public authority and serving the benefit of all people is the prescriptive use of public space, because it has a prescriptive force. The prescriptive use of public space and private space is closely related to normative use; yet, prescriptions do not necessarily invoke norms.

3.4.2.3 Relationship between 'public space' and 'private space'

How can we define the relation between 'public space' and 'private space'? Is it a dichotomous or continuous relationship? Is it a bi-polar or multi-polar relationship? The following two sections discuss and explain the two ways of seeing this relationship.

3.4.2.3.1 'Dichotomous' versus 'continuous'

It is very common to see the description of the relationship between 'public space' and 'private space' as 'dichotomous'; that is, if a space which is not public is private, or vice versa. As can be noted, the Individualist and the Organic Models define a dichotomous relationship between public space and private space. However, the relationship between public space and private space might not always be so sharp. The concepts 'public space' and 'private space' can be regarded as a matter of degree; that is the relation between them can be seen as a 'continuous' relation, as Figure 3.9 seeks to illustrate.

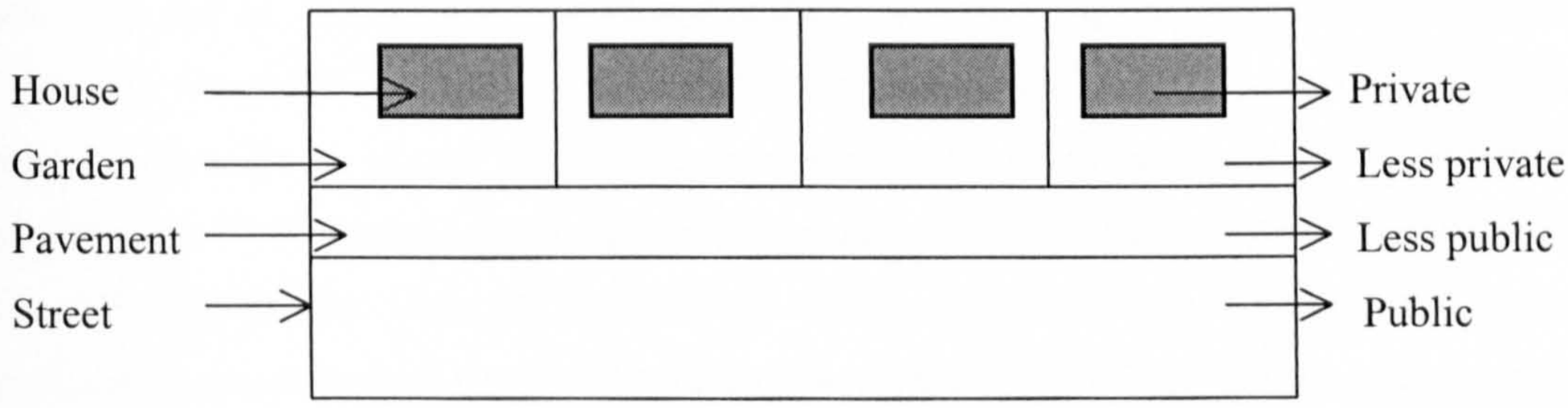

Figure 3.9. The continuous relation between public space and private space with regard to a street of detached houses

The street in Figure 3.9 is a street of detached houses, each of which accommodates four flats and a garden. The street is physically accessible to pedestrians, cyclists, wheelchair users and cars. Thus, it is possible to define the street as a public space. The pavements on both sides of the street are used only by pedestrians and wheelchair users. Thus, the pavement is less public than the street. Houses in the street and their garden are considered as private space, since they are only accessible to certain people (i.e., their owners and the people who are given the permission to have access to the houses and their gardens). Yet, the interior of each house (or even the interior

of each flat) is more private than their garden, because the garden is shared by four households. Thus, the garden of each building is less private than the interior of each house or flat.

As can be seen from this example, there is a continuous relation between public space and private space. This relation can also be observed when the relationship between the main shopping street and a street in a residential district is considered. The main shopping street is more public than a residential street, since it is accessible to a larger number and greater variety and diversity of people. Similarly, a house on a residential street is less private than a house which is surrounded by high walls, gates and security guards, because the physical accessibility of the former is less restricted than the latter. This continuity is generated by the fact that urban space is made up of public space and private space which constitute different extents of 'publicness' and 'privateness'. Both concepts need to be regarded, therefore, as a matter of degree. Figure 3.10 seeks to illustrate the continuous relation between public space and private space.

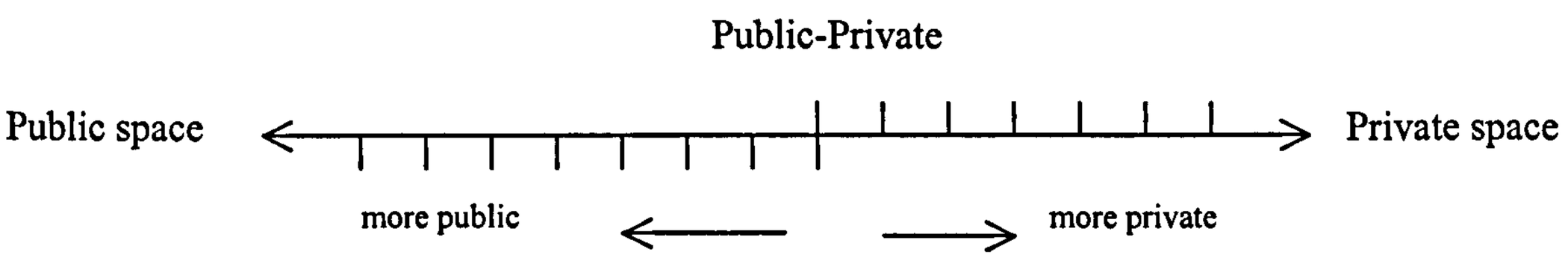

Figure 3.10. Continuous relation between 'public space' and 'private space'

Where public space is concerned, one can see that public space ranges from more public to more private. This can be exemplified with regard to the three criteria of the public-private distinction and the time dimension. Regarding the criterion of access, a state university campus which is physically accessible to all can be given as an example of a public space. If this public space is accessible only to the students studying and the people working in the university, it becomes less public, and more private. Thus, the extent of the 'publicness' of the university campus is reduced as its physical accessibility is restricted to certain individuals and groups. This also means that the extent of the 'privateness' of the university campus increases. Any restriction on the physical accessibility of a public space reduces the 'publicness' of the public space. Security guards, security cameras, walls and gates surrounding public spaces, and entrance fees are examples of things which restrict the physical accessibility of public space.

The degree of the 'publicness' of a public space also depends on the extent of the accessibility to the activities and discussions, information and resources of the development and use processes of a public space. For example, if the activities and discussions of the development of a public space are accessible to all (i.e., the public), then the development process is public. The development

process of the public space becomes less public, but more private, if the activities and discussions of the development process are accessible only to certain individuals and groups. This means that the extent of the 'publicness' of the development process of the public space decreases, while the degree of 'privateness' increases. Another example can be given with regard to the accessibility of the resources of a public space. If the space and the assets and services that it contains are accessible to all, then the use process of the public space is public. The use process is less public if car-parking services are not accessible to disabled groups, or if some groups (like teenagers, homeless people) are not allowed to enter the space. The use process is also less public when the assets and services of a public space are open only to the people who pay for it. The London Eye in London, The Eiffel Tower and L'Arc de Triomphe in Paris are such examples where the 'publicness' of the public spaces are reduced. These examples show that the 'publicness' of the use process of a public space decreases, while its 'privateness' increases. Hence, the extent of the 'publicness' of a public space increases as people have access to the activities and discussions, information and resources in its development and use processes.

The extent of the 'publicness' of a public space also increases or decreases according to the public-private nature of the actors who control the development and use processes. As mentioned above, a space is a public space if it is owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed and maintained by public actors. The extent of the 'publicness' of a public space decreases (thus, the extent of its 'privateness' increases) if the development and management and maintenance are carried out by private actors, or through the partnership of public and private actors. When the use phase of the public space is considered, a space is public space if it is used by the public, i.e. the aggregate of private individuals. The more the public uses a public space, the more it is public.

When the 'publicness' of a public space is considered with regard to the actors who are involved in the development and use processes, one can state that the 'publicness' of a public space increases if a variety and diversity of public and private actors are involved in the planning and design phase.

Finally, the degree of the 'publicness' of a public space also depends on the extent of the public and private benefits that the space produces. A public space which is developed by a private company or through a public and private partnership will bring forth a benefit for both the private and public sectors as well as the public, i.e. the aggregate of private actors. Hence, the benefit of the public space is both public and private to a certain extent. It should be noted that the extent of the 'publicness' of a public space may not always decrease, even if it is developed, managed or controlled by private actors. Public actors may some times contract with private actors for the

development, management or control of public space, since the cost of providing such services by private sector's hand could be lower than that of providing them by public sector. In this case, the public interest would be enhanced, because the public resources are used in the most efficient way, and thus in the best interest of all members of the society in order to provide a public service. For such cases, although the 'publicness' of public space might be reduced with regard to the public-private nature of the actors which control the development and use processes, the 'publicness' of the same public space might increase with regard to the 'public interest'.

3.4.2.3.2 Bi-polarity versus multi-polarity

Another way of seeing the relationship between public space and private space is either bi-polar or multi-polar. The relationship between public space and private space is generally considered as bi-polar, i.e. the opposite of public space is private space, or vice versa. However, in many contexts, the opposite of public space may not be private space, or the opposite of private space may be something other than public space. This shows the multi-polar character of public space and private space.

The 'multi-polarity' characteristic of public space and private space can be illustrated by three criteria, i.e., access, actor and interest. Concerning the criterion 'access', a piece of land is public space if it is open to all. Yet, a piece of land which is used for military purposes might not be accessible, although it is not private land. Thus, in this case, the land is neither public, nor private. As far as the criterion of actor is concerned, a piece of land is public if it is owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed and maintained by public actors. However, a piece of land which is owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed and maintained by a voluntary or charitable organisation (i.e. a private actor functioning on the public account) is neither public, nor private. Finally, regarding the criterion of 'interest', a space is called public if it serves the public interest. Yet, a piece of land (such as deserted land which does not possess any resources), which does not serve either public or private interest, can be called neither public, nor private. Similarly, a private space which is not used (like a deserted house which is not used by its owner or anybody else, a piece of land which is left idle) serves neither private nor public benefit. Thus, this space can be called neither public nor private space.

It is possible to note that the examples given above can always be explained in terms of the 'continuity' principle. For example, public land, which is not accessible to all, does not necessarily mean that it is neither public nor private. It is public to some extent as long as it is used in the public interest. It is private to a certain extent, since it is only open to certain groups. Hence, the recognition of the presence of various degrees of public and private will provide us

with the chance to define the public-private nature of elements around ourselves. This research intends to define public space and private space with regard to their 'continuity' characteristics rather than 'multi-polarity' characteristics.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter tries to define the concepts of 'public space' and 'private space' in order to use them in the investigation of the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces. Here, the prominent question, which this chapter seeks to answer, is how the 'publicness' of a public space can be assessed. This question brings about the need to show, first, how this research approaches the concept of 'space'; second, how it defines 'public space' and 'private space'; and third, how it describes the relationship between public space and private space. As a response to the first question, this chapter introduces the understanding, which sees the concept of 'space' as a four-dimensional entity; i.e., an outcome of time, a product of a process. On this basis, the research proposes defining 'space' with regard to 'time' dimension; i.e., its development and use processes, which can be considered as four phases: i) planning and design, ii) construction, iii) management and maintenance, and iv) use. To find an answer to the second question, this chapter examines the meanings of 'public' and 'private', and the philosophical views which advocate the public-private separation and those which oppose the public-private distinction. Then, it puts forth the public space model of this research. The model defines 'public space' and 'private space' as four-dimensional concepts, which can be described through three criteria, i.e. 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. As the response to the third question, the public space model of this research suggests a 'continuous' relationship between public and private spaces, rather than a 'dichotomous' or a 'multi-polar' relationship. In other words, the model defines the relation between public and private spaces as a matter of degree, instead of a dichotomous or multi-polar separation. The following chapter concentrates on the question of how this research applies the public space model to this research in order to assess the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is about the research methodology which was used in this study. It deals with the research strategy of this study; and explains the reasons for choosing a case study approach. Second, it focuses on the type of case study which was undertaken in this research, and explains the reasons for carrying out multiple-case studies. Then, this chapter concentrates on the cases to be studied in this research. It explains why the research is carried out in Newcastle, gives details about the units of analysis of this research, and discusses the number of cases required to produce a compelling and robust research. Fourth, this chapter considers the data collection phase of this research. It describes the sets of data which were collected, the purpose to collect each set of data, and sources of evidence which were used to collect each set of data. It then concentrates on two data sources; i.e., interviews and direct observation. With regard to interviews, this chapter defines the aims of conducting interviews, the type of interview which was conducted, the concern of interview questions and the process of conducting interviews. As far as direct observation is concerned, this chapter explains how observations were carried out in this research. Finally, this chapter explains the analysis method which was used and then summarises the difficulties which were experienced in this research.

4.2 Case study as the research method of the study

4.2.1 The reasons to employ case study approach for this research

A case study approach is used as a research strategy of this study. There are five reasons to use case study method for this research. The first is related to the type of question that this research is based on. According to Yin (1994: 1), case study is a preferred strategy "when 'how' and 'why' questions are being posed". The main question of this research is: How far are the 1990s public spaces, which were developed in the centre of British cities, 'public'? In other words, this research stands on a 'how' question. With regard to the type of the research question, the case study method is, therefore, an appropriate method for this research.

The second reason for choosing a case study method is related to the phenomenon which is examined by this research. According to Yin (1994: 1), case study is a preferred strategy when "the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context". It is possible to argue that this research examines a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context. First of all, it is concerned with the issue of 'public space', which has become a recently rising issue on the agenda of cities. As underlined in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, the rise of the concern with public spaces and consequently the development of a number of attractive, distinctive and exclusive public spaces in both North American and European cities (including British cities) on the derelict lands of industrial estates, declining waterfronts and city centres within the context of urban regeneration projects and city-marketing and re-imaging programmes are recent phenomena. As the major concern of this research, the investigation of the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces developed in the centre of British cities, in turn, focuses on a contemporary phenomenon. Second, the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces in Britain can also be seen as a contemporary phenomenon, as far as the recently rising sensitivity on the people's needs with regard to the provision of public spaces is concerned. In Britain, the 1990s is characterised by the move towards greater community consultation and participation in issues related to development and town planning through Local Agenda 21 and the rise in volunteer groups to involve in environmental management (Thompson, et. al., 2001: 7). With regard to these changes, it is also possible to note that the question of the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces developed in the centre of British cities is an investigation into a contemporary phenomenon.

Third, this research employs a case study method due to the extent of the control of the investigator over the phenomenon which is investigated. Yin (1994: 1) argues that case study is used as a research strategy when the investigator has little control over events. Gillham (2000: 4) notes that in natural sciences, the phenomenon which is investigated can be stripped off from its context, and, in turn, be investigated under controlled 'laboratory' conditions. However, this is not the case in the researches undertaken in social science disciplines (Gillham, 2000; Yin; 1994).

Based on these arguments, it is possible to see that the phenomenon which is investigated in this research is a phenomenon over which the researcher has no control. First of all, the 'publicness' of public space is a social science issue. It cannot be examined under controlled laboratory conditions. In a broad context, the 'publicness' of public space is a phenomenon which is under the control of economic, political, social and technological forces that can be considered at global, national and local levels. These forces are entirely out of control of the researcher. In a specific context, this research asserts that there is a relation between the 'publicness' of public spaces and the variables of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'; and it seeks to find out how these variables

influence the extent of the 'publicness' of public spaces. The variables mentioned above can be only found in real-life. They cannot be created and experimented in a laboratory. The researcher does not have any power to change or make modifications on the variables; and she does not have any option to observe the results of these changes. The phenomenon, which is investigated in this research, is, therefore, completely beyond the control of the researcher.

When the control of the researcher over the phenomenon is considered with regard to the cases which are examined in this research, the public spaces which are investigated in this research are the spaces which are already built and open to the use of the public. The researcher was not involved in the development process of these public spaces. In this sense, the researcher does not have any control over the examples which are investigated in this research.

Fourth, a case study method is appropriate for this research because of the close relation between the phenomenon which is investigated and its context. According to Gillham (2000: 1), a case study is a preferred research strategy when the phenomenon which is under examination can only be studied and understood in context. Regarding this research, the phenomenon which is examined is the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces in the centre of British cities. The context within which the 'publicness' of these public spaces is examined is regeneration and revitalisation of city centres. Without the consideration of regeneration strategies, policies and projects of city centres and the roles of public spaces within these strategies, policies and projects, the 'publicness' of public spaces cannot be entirely examined. The context which is defined above is the closest and the most specific context within which the phenomenon is investigated. This context is also related to various fields in which the phenomenon is investigated (Figure 4.1). Without considering the disciplinary context, the 'publicness' of the new generation public spaces cannot be truly studied.

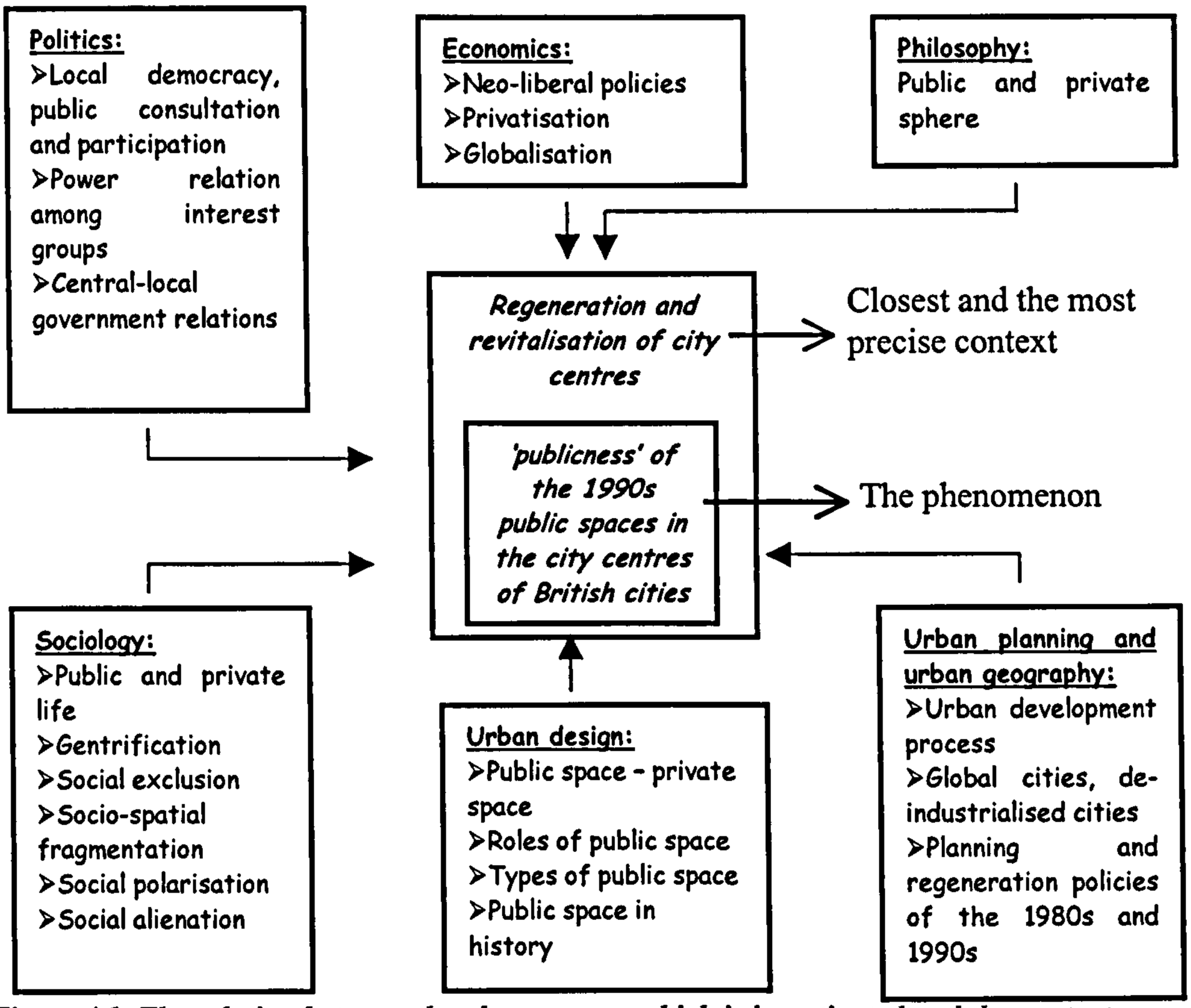

Figure 4.1. The relation between the phenomenon which is investigated and the context

Finally, a case study method is employed by this research due to unclear relations between context and phenomenon. To note and identify the close relation between the phenomenon and the context is one of the major characteristics of case study strategy. Yin (1994: 13) defines case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". As Gillham (2000: 15) claims, the unclear relation between the phenomenon and its context is peculiar to the beginning of the research. This relation will be clarified, as the researcher's knowledge on the investigated topic extends. Regarding the investigation of the 1990s public spaces, at the beginning of the research, the researcher had an unclear idea about the context. The research problem was transformed over time, and defined more clearly as the question of the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces within the context of city centre regeneration and revitalisation policies. Besides, as time passed, the scope of the research was clarified and delimited; and the context of the research, i.e. what the research is really 'about', was determined particularly in the analysis period of the investigation. Thus, the phenomenon which is under examination (i.e., the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces in the city centre of British cities) and its very specific context (i.e. city centre regeneration and revitalisation) were

identified in this research over time. In this sense, this research also satisfies the condition to use case study method as the research strategy.

Briefly put, a case study method is used as a research strategy of this research; because this research is based on a 'how' question; it investigates a contemporary phenomenon; the researcher has no control over the phenomenon under investigation; the phenomenon and the context which are studied have a very close relation to each other; yet, at the beginning of the research, this relation was not very clear.

4.2.2 Type of case study

4.2.2.1 Explanatory, exploratory or descriptive

Yin (1994: 15) defines three types of cases studies: explanatory, exploratory and descriptive. Of the three kinds of case studies, the case studies of this research show the characteristics of explanatory and descriptive case studies. According to Yin (1994: 15), a case study is explanatory if it explains the causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies. As far as the public space model, on which this research is based, is concerned, this research is an explanatory case study. As this research seeks to set up and explain the causal relations between the 'publicness' of a public space and three variables; i.e. 'access', 'actor' and 'interest' through the public space model. This causal relation is not a direct relation which can be seen, for instance, in the relation between smoking and cancer. The causal relation between smoking and cancer can be explained as: Smoking results in cancer, or cancer is caused by smoking. The causal relation between the 'publicness' of a public space and three variables is not the same as the relation between smoking and cancer. This research recognises that public spaces constitute different extents of 'publicness'; and it argues that the extent of the 'publicness' of public space depends on three variables. Based on this recognition, the causal relation which seeks to be explained in this research is:

VARIABLE	PROPOSITION BASED ON THE CAUSAL RELATION		
Access	The increase/decrease in the physical accessibility of public space	RESULTS IN	the increase/decrease in the 'publicness' of public space.
	The increase/decrease in the accessibility of the activities and discussions, information, resources in the development and use processes of a public space		
Actor	How far a public space is owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed and maintained by public actors		

	How far a public space is used by the public		
	The increase/decrease in the involvement of the public and public actors in the planning, design, construction, management and maintenance stages of a public space		
	How far the public space is developed through the presence of a forum		
Interest	The increase/decrease in the extent of the public interest that a public space serves		

Figure 4.2. The causal relation between the 'publicness' of public space and three variables; i.e. 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'

The case studies of this research are also descriptive. Yin (1994: 15) asserts that a case study is descriptive if it describes an intervention and the real-life context in which it occurred; and it illustrates certain topics within an evaluation, again in a descriptive mode. This research is based on the 1990s public spaces, and seeks to describe the change in the 'publicness' of these public spaces by investigating them through the variables of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest' within a real-life context. The cases are examined to illustrate this change.

4.2.2.2 Single or multiple-case study method

This research employs a multiple-case study method due to two reasons. According to Yin (1994: 45), multiple-case study is applied as a research method when the rationale for single-case cannot be satisfied; that is, when the concern of the research does not involve the unusual or rare case, the critical case and the revelatory case. Concerning this research, the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces in Britain does not involve the unusual or rare case, the critical case and the revelatory case. It is based on, therefore, a multiple case study method.

The second reason is related to the type of generalisation. Yin (1994: 48) argues that case study method is not used to assess the incidence of phenomenon. For this reason, case study method employs 'analytical generalisation', rather than 'statistical generalisation' (Yin, 1994: 31). Analytical generalisation is the method of generalisation "in which a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study" (Yin, 1994: 31). Analytical generalisation is based on 'replication logic', rather than 'sampling logic' (Yin, 1994: 31). Hence, the major reason to make a multiple-case study is to observe the 'replication' (Yin, 1994: 45). When this research is concerned, it employs analytical generalisation, since it stands on a theory (the public space model) which seeks to measure the extent of the 'publicness' of public spaces. This research targets to show that the public space model, which is used as a template, is able to measure the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces in Britain. Thus, this

model needs to be tested in more than one public space. For this reason, this research uses multiple-case study method.

4.3 Cases

4.3.1 The reasons to carry out the research in Newcastle

This research originally intended to be carried out in Turkey, by focusing on three public spaces which were recently developed in the city centre of Ankara. Since the sponsor of the PhD research did not allow the researcher to stay in Turkey for more than a month in a year, and the researcher realised that it was not possible to undertake the fieldwork of this study in a month, she decided to carry out this research on the public spaces recently developed in the centres of British cities. With reference to the main focus of the research, Newcastle is a remarkable example. Newcastle has witnessed an increasing concern with the public spaces for more than a decade. A number of new and attractive public spaces have been developed especially in the city centre of Newcastle. The revitalisation of the public spaces has also been one of the prominent urban policies of the local authority. The Newcastle City Council has encouraged the revival of the public realm of the city centre by promoting the development of a café society and the opening of street cafés in the city centre. As well as the new public spaces, there has been significant improvement in the maintenance of the public realm of the city centre by the mechanisation of street cleaning, the removal of graffiti and chewing gum, and the greening of the main streets in the city centre. As a city which accommodates several new and attractive public spaces which were produced in the 1990s in the city centre, and that which witnessed the remarkable concern with the public spaces, Newcastle is, therefore, an important example for this research to be examined.

Another reason to choose the cases from Newcastle is the financial limitations. This PhD research is financed partially by the sponsor of the researcher and partially by the researcher. This has created financial restrictions for this research. Although the researcher considered to carried out this research by choosing two cases in two different cities in Britain, she realised that expenses of this kind of case study would be very high due to the travelling, accommodation and living expenses in another city, apart from Newcastle. So, she decided to choose the cases from Newcastle where she lived.

4.3.2 Units of analysis of the research

The units of analysis of this research are two public spaces: the Haymarket Bus Station (HBS) and the Grey's Monument Area (GMA). Both public spaces represent the examples of the prominent

public space improvement schemes of the 1990s in the city centre of Newcastle. The HBS, as one of the major and busiest bus stations of the city centre, is situated at the northern part of the city centre (Figure 4.3). The bus station and its surroundings were recently redeveloped through public-private partnership. The HBS project is an important development scheme which exemplifies public space improvement of the northern edge of the retailing core of Newcastle. In addition, it is a remarkable example in terms of the regeneration and rehabilitation of the northern end of the city centre.

Figure 4.3. The location of the HBS and the GMA in the city centre of Newcastle

The second case, the GMA, stands at the heart of the city centre of Newcastle (Figure 4.3). Accommodating the major landmark of the city, i.e. Grey's Monument, it is one of the major public open spaces of the city centre. The GMA is situated between the present retail core of the city, the nineteenth-century-developed part of the city centre (Grainger Town) and the city centre of the pre-industrial Newcastle (the Quayside). It is located at the northern end of Grey Street which has been regenerated since the early 1980s. The redevelopment of the GMA is one of the major public space improvement projects within the context of Grainger Town Project which aims at regenerating the nineteenth-century historic city centre. This project does not only exemplify the improvement of public spaces regarding the regeneration of the city centre, but also provides a fine example as a public space which is promoted as a cultural and historical heritage of Newcastle in order to construct a new image for the city.

4.3.3 The reasons to carry out two case studies

There are two major reasons to carry out two case studies. The first one is related to the complexity of the investigation. Case study method requires a comprehensive investigation on the phenomenon and its context (Yin, 1994). It comprises a large number of variables, and it requires detailed investigation. Yin (1994: 46) asserts that the emphasis of case study is on the theoretical

framework, which states the conditions under which a particular phenomenon is likely to be found. Regarding this research, the investigation which is carried out is significantly complex. First of all, this research seeks to understand the context within which the 'publicness' of the two public spaces is investigated. For this reason, it examines the history of Newcastle with respect to the changes in its economy and urban landscape. Then, it focuses on the two public spaces which were recently developed in the city centre, and it searches their 'publicness' with regard to four stages: i) planning and design, ii) construction, iii) management and maintenance, and iv) use through the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. This research carries out a detailed and comprehensive investigation into the two public spaces and the context within which they are studied. Because of the complexity of the investigation, it was possible to study only two examples.

The second reason is about the limitations on time and resources. First of all, as mentioned earlier, this research initially was planned to be carried out in Turkey. Yet, the cases of the research were changed due to the restrictions imposed by the sponsor of the PhD at the time when the researcher was ready to go and conduct the case studies in Turkey. Hence, some time was lost in the first-year of the PhD due to this change, and this created a time limitation for this research.

Another reason which brought about the time limitation for this research is the long period of preparation and data collection for the cases of Newcastle. According to Phillips and Pugh (2000: 88), two-ninths of the whole period of the PhD should ideally be dedicated to data collection and analysis. A standard PhD study period is three years; i.e. thirty-six months. Based on the time-management policy of Phillips and Pugh, the maximum period of data collection and analysis should be eight months for a PhD research. However, the preparation and data collection period of this research took twice as much as this standard period of time. The preparation period took eight months. Because the investigator did not have any planning experience in Britain, she had to learn the British planning system with regard to development process and development control. In addition, because the investigator did not know Newcastle, she had to explore the city, city centre and possible public spaces to be investigated in this research. Newspapers of the last 20 years were reviewed and several academics in the School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape at University of Newcastle were interviewed in order to find out the possible public spaces to be studied. After identifying the case study areas, the researcher started the data collection. The data collection period of this research constituted a number of steps. The first step was the data collection on the historical development of the city centre of Newcastle and the recent planning policies through different kinds of written documents. The second step was to collect data specifically on the cases to be investigated. The data collection with regard to the two cases

consisted of finding the documents and archival records, conducting interviews and transcribing them, conducting direct observation of the case study and finally preparing case study reports. The whole data collection period took eight months for two cases. The total time that the empirical part of the research took is, therefore, sixteen months. This long period of time for the whole empirical part of the research created a significant time limitation, and did not allow this research to carry out another case study.

To sum up, this research examines two cases due to the complexity of the analysis which is required, and the limitations of time and resources allocated to this research.

4.3.4 The number of cases to produce a compelling and robust research

The number of cases which is studied in this research raises the question of whether two cases will be sufficient to produce a compelling and robust research. It is possible to argue that two cases are sufficient for the investigation of the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces in Britain. The main reason is related to the type of replication. As mentioned in section 4.2.2.2, the major reason to make a multiple-case study is to observe replication. Here, the main question is how many replications should be observed to make generalisation through the cases. Yin defines two types of replications. A *literal replication* is made up of selected cases which predict similar results, while *a theoretical replication* includes the cases which "produce contrasting results but for predictable reasons" (Yin, 1994: 46). According to Yin (1994: 46), a few cases (two or three) would be appropriate for literal replications, whereas a few other cases (four to six) might be designed to pursue two different patterns of theoretical replications. As far as this research is concerned, by using the public space model as a template, this research expects to find similar extent of 'publicness' for the 1990s public spaces developed in the city centre of British cities. For this reason, this research tries to find literal replication. On the basis of the argument related to the number of cases to be studied, it is possible to argue that two or three cases are adequate for this research.

When the decision on whether to make two or three cases is considered, Yin (1994: 50) claims that "the selection of the number of replications depends upon the certainty you want to have about your multiple-case results (as with the higher criterion for establishing statistical significance, the greater certainty lies with the larger number of cases)". In this research, after making two cases, it was realised that the results of the HBS and the GMA showed a number of similarities. Consequently, the third case was not undertaken.

4.4 Data collection

4.4.1 Data which were collected

There are two major sets of data that were collected for the case studies. Appendix 1 shows these sets of data and the purpose to collect the data. The first set of data is about the transition of Newcastle from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrial city. This set of data was gathered in order to have a better understanding of the recent city centre regeneration strategies, policies and programmes which would help us to investigate the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces, which were developed in the city centre of Newcastle. Based on this purpose, the transition of Newcastle is described according to the three recent phases that the city has experienced. The first phase covers the time-period from the 18th century to the 1970s, when Newcastle was a highly industrialised city. The second phase is the time-period covering the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, when the city experienced a severe economic, social and urban decline. The third phase is a period which started in the 1980s, and is characterised by the shift of Newcastle from an old-industrialised city to a post-industrial city. The data set about these phases attempts to describe these phases with regard to economic developments, and social and urban changes.

Among these three phases, particularly for the third period (i.e., the period from the mid-1980s to the present), the data set includes the information about image-building and city-marketing campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s to promote Newcastle as a post-industrial city. Further, with regard to the city-marketing and image-building strategies, it includes the data about the recent urban regeneration and development schemes which have made drastic changes in the urbanscape of the city centre.

The second set of data focuses on two public spaces which were recently developed in the city centre of Newcastle; i.e., the HBS and the GMA. This set of data consists of four sub-sets of data, the first of which concentrates on the description of the 'publicness' of both public spaces before the recent development schemes of these public spaces took place. It includes the general information about the history of these public spaces and the description of their 'publicness' with regard to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. This set of data is also accompanied by the visual documents such as the layout, land-use map and photos of the HBS and the GMA before their redevelopment. This data set is particularly important in order to make a comparison between the 'publicness' of the public spaces before the development schemes took place and that after the development schemes occurred.

The second sub-set of data is related to the recent development schemes of both public spaces. It consists of the detailed information of the recent design schemes of the HBS and the GMA regarding the aims and objectives, planning and design principles, financial resources, as well as the visual documents such as the design schemes of the new public spaces and photos taken during the development scheme of both spaces.

This data set is followed by the one which concentrates on the stages of the development and use processes. It includes the beginning and the end of each phase of the development and use processes. This data set especially helps to specify the time period on which this research project focuses for the analysis of the 'publicness' of the public spaces. In addition, it facilitates an understanding of the main stages of the development and use processes and the activities which took place in each phase. Moreover, it provides the chance to introduce the time dimension into the analysis of space.

The fourth sub-data set is related to the 'publicness' of the public spaces in their recent development and use processes. It includes the data about three variables, i.e. access, actor and interest. When the data set in relation to the variable of 'access' is concerned, the research, first, focuses on the accessibility of the development processes in order to show how far the development processes (especially planning and design phase) of the public spaces were open to all. It mainly searches for the ways that each actor accessed the activities and discourses of, and the information related to the planning and design phase of the public spaces. As far as the accessibility of the management and maintenance process of the public spaces is concerned, the research targets to show how far information related to the management and maintenance processes of the public spaces are open to all. Additionally, it seeks to find out the physical accessibility of the public spaces after its redevelopment. The main target, here, is to see how far the newly built public spaces, the activities and discussions taking place on them, the information about them and their resources are open to all. Thus, this data set constitutes the information about:

- whether the new public spaces are physically accessible to everybody, such as disabled people, teenagers, homeless people and so on;
- whether the activities and discussions taking place in the new public spaces are accessible to everybody;
- whether the new public spaces as resources are open to everybody.

With regard to the data set related to the variable of 'actor' is considered, it aims at finding out:

- how far the public and public actors were involved in activities and discourses of the planning and design phases of the public spaces;
- how far public actors owned, planned, designed, constructed, and now manage and maintain the public spaces;
- How far the public uses the public spaces.

In order to make the analysis of the variable of 'actor', the data set, first, focuses on the information about the actors who are involved in the planning, design, construction, management and maintenance stages of the public spaces. Here, the aim is to find out the public-private nature of the actors who are involved in these phases. The analysis of the public-private nature of these actors will help us to learn how far the public, public actors and private actors were involved in the activities and discourses of the planning and design phases of the public spaces. Additionally, it will help us to see whether any group(s) is/are excluded in the planning and design processes of the public spaces.

Second, this data set comprises the information about the role that the actors play in the planning, design, construction, management and maintenance of the public spaces. When the first three phases (i.e., the development process) are considered, the data set includes the information about:

- the responsibility or duty which each actor carried out in each phase of the development processes;
- the needs and expectations of each actor with regard to the public spaces;
- the issues which were discussed during the development processes and influenced in the design of the public spaces;
- the negotiations, conflicts, tensions among the actors with regard to the design of the public spaces;
- the public objections to the new design of the public spaces.

The analysis of the roles of the actors who are involved in the development processes of the public spaces will provide us to discover how far public and private actors owned, planned, designed, and constructed the public spaces.

As far as the management and maintenance of the public spaces is concerned, the same category of data set includes the information about the roles of actors in the management and maintenance processes of the public spaces. The analysis of the roles of the actors who are involved in the management and maintenance of the public spaces will show us how far public actors and private actors are responsible for the management and maintenance of the public spaces.

Besides, this data set of the variable of 'actor' includes the information about the users' profile of the public spaces before and after their redevelopment. The major target, here, is to find out whether the new public spaces have enforced gentrification and social exclusion. In order to do so, there is a need to compare the user types of the public spaces before and after their redevelopment. So, the analysis of the user profile of the public spaces will show us whether the variety and diversity of the segments of the population, which the public spaces used to serve, increases or decreases after the redevelopment of the public spaces.

Finally, when the data set related to the variable of 'interest' is considered, the analysis will provide us the answer of two following questions:

- What is/are the benefit(s) of private actors, public actors and the public, after the development of the public spaces?
- Is there any increase or decrease in the 'public interest' which the public spaces serve after their redevelopment?
- Is there any balance between the benefit that private actors got and the benefit that the public got after the development of the public spaces?
- How far were the major design principles determined through the consent of the majority of public and private actors?

This set of information will describe the benefit of public actors, private actors and the public with regard to the new design and management of the public spaces. Further, through the discussions of the public and public actors, it will provide an answer regarding whether the main design principles that give the major characteristics of the site were determined in the public realm.

4.4.2 Sources of evidence

This research is based on four major sources of evidence. The first source of evidence is documents which constitute letters, memoranda, agendas, announcements and minutes of meetings, and other written reports of events, administrative documents (i.e. proposals, progress reports, and other internal documents), formal studies or evaluations of the same 'site' under study, newspaper clippings and other articles appearing in the mass media and websites related to the projects and the agencies which are under investigation. The second data sources of this research are archival records which include maps and photos of the case study sites, list of names of actors who were involved in the development process of case studies, archaeological survey data of case study areas, and personal records, such as diaries, calendars and telephone lists.

Another data source of this research is interviews with a number of actors involved in development and use of the case study areas. Finally, direct observation is the last source of evidence of this research, which consists of walking and spending time on the site, and taking photos.

4.4.3 The identification of data which were collected with reference to sources of evidence

Appendix A shows the data sets that were collected and the sources of evidence. The first data set, i.e. the data about the transition of Newcastle from an industrial city to a post-industrial city, was collected through documents and archival records. The same sources of evidence and interviews were used to gather the data with regard to the description of the HBS and the GMA before the development schemes. As far as the detailed data about the recent development schemes of both public spaces is concerned, the aims and objectives, planning and design principles, financial resources of the HBS and the GMA projects and the visual documents of the schemes were collected through documents, archival records and interviews. The same data sources were also used to find out about the beginning and end of the stages of the development and use processes. When the data set related to the variable of 'access' is concerned, interviews were the main data source to find out the data with regard to the accessibility of the development process and management and maintenance process of the HBS and the GMA. The information about the physical accessibility of the newly developed public spaces and the accessibility to the activities taking place in these spaces are collected through direct observations.

As far as the data set related to the variable of 'actor' is considered, documents, archival records and interviews are the main sources of evidence. The data which was necessary for the analysis of the public-private nature of actors was found through documents, particularly the Internet websites. Documents, archival records and interviews were used to find out about the actors who were involved in the development process, their roles, expectations and their influence in the design of both public spaces. The actors who are responsible for the management and maintenance of the HBS and the GMA and their roles were found out about through interviews. Further, interviews were used to obtain the information about the issues which were subject to discussions during the development process and made changes in the design of the HBS and the GMA, the negotiations, conflicts and tensions among the actors regarding the design of the public spaces. The public objections to the new design of both cases were gathered through documents, archival records and interviews. Particularly for the HBS, it was fairly easy to find the public objections, the issues which were objected to, and the name of the objectors than the GMA, since

the archival records of the Newcastle City Council about the HBS scheme were open to the public. However, for the GMA, the documents and archival records were not open to the public when the data collection of this research was carried out. Thus, regarding the GMA, the data about the public objections, the issues which were objected to and the name of the objectors had to be found out through interviews.

Concerning the users' profile of the HBS and the GMA before and after the recent development projects, interviews were the main data source to obtain the information. The users' profile after the redevelopment of the public spaces were obtained through documents and direct observations.

With regard to the data related to the variable of 'interest', the information about the benefits of public actors, private actors and the public were obtained through documents, interviews and direct observation. The visual data, such as the new design and the present land-use maps of the HBS and the GMA, were obtained through documents and direct observation. Finally, the information about whether the main design principles of the public spaces were determined in the public realm through the discussions of the public and public actors were gathered through interviews, documents and archival records.

4.4.4 Interviews

4.4.4.1 Aims of conducting interviews

There are four major goals to conduct interviews for this research. One of the main aims is to collect detailed data about the recent development stories of the HBS and the GMA with regard to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. This will help us to find out the extent of the 'publicness' of the public spaces concerning their development processes. More specifically, by conducting interviews, this research targets to find the data about:

- The ways that each actor accessed the activities and discussions of, and the information related to the development processes of the HBS and the GMA;
- The actors who were involved in each stage of development processes of both public spaces;
- The roles of each actor in the development processes, their expectations with regard to the public spaces, their impact on the design of these spaces;
- The issues which were discussed during the development processes and influenced in the designs of the public spaces, the negotiations, conflicts and tensions among the actors during the development processes with regard to the design of the public spaces;

- The public objections and the issues which were objected to with regard to the designs of the public spaces;
- The groups which were not included in the development processes;
- The user groups of these public spaces before the recent development schemes;
- The detailed information about the planning and design principles of these public spaces.

Second, interviews were carried out to obtain data about the management and maintenance of both the HBS and the GMA, again, concerning the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest' in order to find out the extent of the 'publicness' of public spaces with regard to their management and maintenance processes. In detail, this research aims to find out the following through interviews:

- The ways that actors access the information related to the management and maintenance process of the HBS and the GMA;
- The actors who are responsible for the management and maintenance of both public spaces and their roles.

Another reason to conduct interviews is to attain an idea about the users' opinions related to the recently developed public spaces. That is:

- Whether they are satisfied with the new designs of the public spaces and the management and maintenance services (such as car-parking, street cleaning, repair, maintenance and security);
- Whether they have different expectations and needs which the new public spaces cannot satisfy;
- The problems that they have experienced related to the new designs of the public spaces;

Here, the interviews with the users of the public spaces are supplementary data for the analysis of 'interest'. Documents, archival records and direct observation are also used to collect data about the opinions of users. The interviews of the users are used to give examples of the users opinions, but not to generalise their opinions.

Finally, interviews were conducted to find the data which could not be found through documents and archival records.

4.4.4.2 Type of interview

Semi-structured interviews were carried out for the data collection of case studies. That is, the questions of the interviews were prepared before the interviews were conducted. The type of

questions might be both closed and open-ended (Gillham, 2000: 60). Closed-ended question constitutes an answer which has a limited set of response categories (Fontana and Frey, 1998: 52). Open-ended question is open to the interpretation of interviewee and may include long explanations. Regarding this research, the research questions were prepared before the interviews were conducted. In addition, follow-up questions were asked during the interviews to gather more detailed information, to clarify ambiguous responses, to probe in new directions suggested by the interview, or to elicit information from reluctant subjects.

4.4.4.3 Questions of interviews

The questions of the interviews were prepared according to the targets which are shown above. Regarding the development process, eight actor groups were identified as the actors who were possibly involved in the development processes of the HBS and the GMA. These hypothetical actor groups are the local authority, central government agencies, other local initiatives, developer, planning and design consultancy, construction company, the objectors to the scheme and user groups (i.e. property owners and tenants of private space surrounding the public spaces and actors who operated in the public space such as the operator of the bus station, taxi and bus companies, street trader, etc. and bus passengers, pedestrians, shoppers, the employees of the retail units surrounding the public space). Based on the need to find at least one person from each actor group, interview questions were prepared for each actor group in order to understand:

- the ways that each actor group accessed the activities and discussions of, and information related to the development process,
- their involvement and roles,
- their impact on the design scheme of the public space,
- their expectations,
- whether they are satisfied with the end-product or not.

Concerning the management and maintenance of the public space, interview questions were also prepared according for the actors who are responsible for the management and maintenance services of the HBS and the GMA. The questions are about:

- what kind of management and maintenance services the actor provides;
- what kind of the management and maintenance services the actor plans to provide in the future.

As for the use processes of the HBS and the GMA, interviews include the questions about:

- whether the new public spaces and the management and maintenance services are satisfactory for the users;

- whether the users have the expectations and needs which the new public spaces cannot satisfy;
- whether they have problems that they have experienced related to the new designs of public spaces.

The hypothetical groups which were targeted to be interviewed as the user groups are property owners of the private realm, property owners of the public realm, tenants of the private and public spaces, actors who operate in the public space (like the operator of the bus station, taxi and bus companies, taxi and bus drivers, street traders), employees of the retail units surrounding the public spaces, bus passengers, shoppers and pedestrians.

4.4.4.4 Conducting interviews

Regarding the interviews related to the development processes of the HBS and the GMA, the initial strategy of this research was to interview at least one person from each actor group, which was involved in the development process of the public spaces. Yet, this strategy changed due to two reasons. First, the hypothetical actor groups which were initially identified were slightly different than the actor groups which were involved in the HBS and the GMA. The second reason is the difficulty to find at least one person from each actor group which was involved in the development process. When the interviews for the first case study (i.e. the HBS) were conducted, the researcher found the name, addresses and phone numbers of actors who were to be interviewed through documents and archival records; prepared and sent the letters which introduced the research and the researcher, and asked them for the possibility of an interview. A week later, the researcher phoned the actors who were contacted through the letters, and asked them for an appointment for an interview. Some of the actors (such as tenants) were not found. For some others, it took too long to contact and get an appointment from them for an interview. Based on a four-month time period for each case which included the data collection from the documents and archival records, interviews and direct observation, the researcher realised that it is not efficient to interview all actor groups which were involved in the development processes of the HBS and the GMA. The researcher also realised that there was no need to interview each actor group; since the documents and archival records provided the answers of some questions which were looked for through the interviews. In addition, the researcher realised that if she interviewed key actors who were involved in the developments of the HBS and the GMA, she would find the data about the involvement of these key actor groups in the development processes, as well as the involvement of other actor groups.

As a result, the strategy to conduct interviews was changed; the key actors who were involved in the development processes were targeted to be interviewed. The interview questions were prepared according to this new strategy; that is, the new interviews included the questions about the involvement of the key actor who was interviewed and the involvement of other actors. By asking the questions about the same actor groups from the different interviewees, the researcher tried to increase the accuracy of the data about the involvement of the actor groups which were not directly interviewed. The interview questions about this kind of actor groups were no longer asked when the interviewees started to repeat the answers.

On this basis, for the HBS, the key actors who were interviewed are the Newcastle City Council as the property owner and local planning authority (i.e., the officer of Legal Services, the ex-planning Chief, the member of the Design Team, Landscape Officer, and the officer of Highway and Transportation Department), Marks and Spencer (M&S) and Scottish & Newcastle (S&N) Breweries as the property owners, NJSR Chartered Architects as the architect company which carried out the major design task, Nathaniel Litchfield & Partners as the planning consultancy of M&S, the bus company ARRIVA as the tenant and the major bus company operating in the bus station, NEXUS as the local transportation agency, and finally Eldon Square Capital Shopping Centre plc., the MP from Labour Party and a resident living very close to the Haymarket as the objectors to the design scheme.

Regarding the GMA, Grainger Town (GT), the Project Executive Team as the main agency which led the development scheme, the Newcastle City Council (i.e., the officer of Highway and Transportation Department, the officer of City Engineering Services and the project manager of the first phase of the GMA public realm scheme) as the property owner, local authority, developer, designer and planning consultancy, and the Residents' Forum and Urban Design Panel (a member from each group) as the consulted groups during the development process of the GMA projects and a taxi driver as the user of the public realm in the development process were interviewed.

The interview strategy which is explained above was developed throughout the data collection period of the case study on the HBS. Yet, a different strategy was used in the GMA. For this reason, it is possible to note that a bigger number of interviews were conducted in the HBS, while the number of interviews conducted in the GMA is smaller.

As well as the interview strategy, another reason which caused the change in the interview questions is the data which could not be found through the documents and archival records.

Particularly for the interviews which were conducted with regard to the development processes and management and maintenance of the public spaces, new questions were added into interviews. For each case, the interview questions which were added to interviews were different, since different data could not be found for each case study.

Apart from these changes in interview questions, the interviews which were originally designed were kept and conducted to both the actors who are responsible for the management and maintenance and the users of the public spaces. For the HBS, NEXUS as the agency which is responsible for the management and maintenance of the bus station, the Newcastle City Council as the authority which is responsible for the management and maintenance of public highway (i.e., the officer of Highway and Transportation Department and the landscape officer), M&S, the bus company ARRIVA, Eldon Square Capital Shopping Centre plc., Old Orleans public house as the actors who are involved in the management and maintenance of the HBS were interviewed. Regarding the GMA, the Newcastle City Council (i.e., the officer of Highway and the officer of Transportation Department and City Engineering Services) as the main authority, which is responsible for the management and maintenance of the site, were interviewed.

As far as the interviews of user groups are concerned, seventeen interviews were conducted for the HBS: Old Orleans public house, M&S, Eldon Square Capital Shopping Centre plc. as the working population of the Haymarket with regard to the private realm, the bus station operator NEXUS, the bus company ARRIVA (as one of the bus companies operating in the bus station), two bus drivers, three taxi drivers, a street trader as the actors which operate in the public space, two bus passengers, four occasional users (pedestrians and shoppers) as the members of the large part of the public. Concerning the GMA, eighteen interviews were conducted: GT Project Executive Team, Lloyds Bank, travel agency Lunn Polly, chemist Boots, Fm's public house, film developer Head Photo as the working population of the GMA with regard to the private realm, two taxi drivers, two street traders as the actors which operate in the public space and eight occasional users (pedestrians, shoppers, bus or metro passengers) as the members of the large part of the public.

The majority of interviews were face-to-face. Some of the interviews were conducted through telephone and emails.

It is possible to note that both the HBS and the GMA are used by a big number of people. In terms of size, the largest part of the users consists of pedestrians, shoppers, bus and metro passengers. In other words, they constitute the largest portion of the public. Six interviews for the HBS and eight

interviews for the GMA were carried out to represent the opinions of this segment of the public. Here, the critical question which should be answered is whether seven-eight interviews for each case are truly representatives of this large segments of the public. It should be noted that these interviews are supplementary data for the analysis of 'interest'. Documents, archival records and direct observation are also used for this purpose. The interviews of the largest portion of the public are used to give examples of the opinions of this segment of the population, but not to generalise as the public opinion.

4.4.5 Direct observation

Direct observation method (rather than a 'structured' observation) is used as a 'supplementary' technique for this research in order to:

- give the illustrative dimension to the research,
- describe the setting (land-use functions, design elements and characteristics), people, activities, events and apparent feelings; i.e., to give a general picture of 'what is on the surface',
- describe problems,
- be a witness for the problems which were told or argued by the interviewees.

In the early stages of the research, the researcher went to both public spaces at various times, and spent time in these places. The observations of these stages were unfocused and general in scope. Yet, in the later stages of the research, the researcher went to the sites at different times of the day (morning, lunch or evening) and different times of the year (ordinary days, as well as special festivals, celebrations, Christmas period or match days when Newcastle United played) in order to carry out more 'focused' observations. More specifically, the focused observations were carried out to see how far the new design of both the HBS and the GMA are physically accessible, which groups use the public spaces, which groups do not use them, the control imposed on the space with regard to people and activities, the management and maintenance services which have been particularly taken seriously into consideration, and the design problems which create difficulties and discomfort for the users of the public spaces, and thus which undermine the 'publicness' of both public spaces. Yet, the target was not to produce qualitative data.

As far as direct observation technique which is used in this research is concerned, there are two main questions which should be answered. The first one is related to validity of data gathered through this research technique. One can argue that, because of the possibility of being subjective, the perception of the observer could not be accepted as valid. For this research, the illustrative data (mainly photos) are used to complement the opinions of interviewees or the data gathered

through documents and archival records. The data gathered through direct observation is combined, therefore, with other methods in order to overcome the problem of validity.

The second question is about the reliability of the data which is gathered through direct observation, since the data which is provided in this research is not the product of a statistical analysis or a structured observation which was carried out systematically or repeatedly. First of all, it is important to note that the data which is collected for this research through direct observation is not a hidden or covert data. The data, such as design features or the design problems of the public spaces, can be seen and noted easily and overtly. Hence, systematic and structured observations were not carried out for this research due to the type of data which is used. Second, this research does not aim at producing quantitative results. It is a qualitative research. This research seeks to point out and underline some design problems, which are the products of the lack of the public consultation in the development process and which undermine the 'publicness' of these public spaces. In other words, it is only one part of the long and detailed process which is investigated in this research with regard to two public spaces.

4.5 Analysis and interpretation of the case study results

The analysis and interpretation of the case study results target to show the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces developed in the city centre of British cities. The analysis of the case studies comprises three major parts. The first part introduces Newcastle which has experienced a transition from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrial city. It examines the recent transition phases that Newcastle has experienced, the recent regeneration strategies, policies and projects related to the city centre and the roles of public spaces within these strategies, policies and projects. Without considering the issues above, it is not possible to analyse and interpret the 'publicness' of the public spaces which were developed in the city centre in the 1990s.

The second part of the analysis focuses on the 'publicness' of the HBS and the GMA. This part constitutes three sub-parts. First, the location of both public spaces in the city centre and their history are explained. Then, the 'publicness' of both places before the development schemes took place is defined with regard to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. Besides, the problems of these public spaces are identified in order to see whether these problems were resolved after the recent development schemes. Second, the recent development and use processes of both the HBS and the GMA are analysed under four stages: i) planning and design, ii) construction, iii) management and maintenance, and iv) use through the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. Finally, the 'publicness' of each case before and after the development schemes is compared to

each other in order to see whether the redevelopment schemes of these public spaces improved or worsened their 'publicness'.

The third part of the analysis constitutes the comparison of two cases with regard to the extent of their 'publicness' in order to see literal replication. In other words, after the examination of the 'publicness' of each case individually and separately, both the HBS and the GMA are compared to each other in order to find similarities and differences with regard to change in their 'publicness' with the recent development schemes.

4.6 Difficulties of the research

A number of difficulties have been experienced in this research. One of the main problems was related to obtaining documents and archival records. The data collection plan for each case went differently. According to the original data collection plan of this research, first, documents and archival records were reviewed and then interviews were to be conducted and direct observation was to be made. Regarding the HBS, the documents and archival records were found at the beginning of the data collection period. This provided the researcher a broad knowledge when she conducted the interviews. This also helped the researcher to find out the name and contact information of the persons to be interviewed. Yet, for the GMA, the researcher could not find any documents and archival records at the beginning of the research. This caused a number of problems for the data collection period. First, the researcher did not have a general knowledge about the project. This problem directly reflected in the way that the interviews were conducted. The questions of the interviews were changed according to the data which were sought to be found for this research. The first interviews took very long. They were also very tiring for both the first two interviewees and the researcher. Second, the lack of the data from the documents and archival records also caused a delay to start conducting the interviews. The people to be interviewed were identified with the help of the interviewees. Since it took a long time to get an appointment from the first and second interviewees, there was not much time to conduct many interviews. The first and second interviewees also could not give many clues about the name and contact information of other actors. Luckily, the researcher was able to use the archive of one of the interviewees (the member of Residents Forum). The documents provided a great deal of information for the research. In this way, the problem of data collection particularly for the case of the GMA was overcome.

Other problems which were experienced in this research are related to interviews. When conducting interviews, to find and convince the people who were to be interviewed was one of the major difficulties of the research. The researcher could not contact at all some of the interviewees.

For others, it was very hard to get an appointment for interviews, because they were either uninterested in being interviewed or very busy. So, it took a very long time for the researcher to have an appointment for an interview. For those who did not want to be interviewed, it made it more difficult for the researcher to carry out this research and to find relevant data in order to complete the research. For some interviewees who changed their contact addresses, the researcher had to trace the interviewees. To contact and convince interviewees and get appointment from them was, therefore, a hard work.

Another difficult part of using interview as a data source is to transcribe them. Gillham explains it as follows:

> Even one interview generates a huge amount of work for the researcher. As a simple rule-of-thumb, a one-hour interview (assuming you've tape-recorded it-recommended) is ten hours of transcription and almost as many hours of analysis. So you have to control number of interviews and their length. (Gillham, 2000: 65-66)

Concerning this research, 27 interviews for the HBS and 24 interviews for the GMA were conducted. As mentioned above, it took a very long time to transcribe them. In addition, some of the interviews which were conducted outside Newcastle also took longer than expected. For example, one of the interviewees (the planning consultancy who was involved in the HBS) lived in London when the research was undertaken. As a result of the phone contact, the researcher had an appointment from the interviewee for a certain date, and made the travel arrangements accordingly. Yet, in the last minute, the interviewee changed the date of interview to three days later. This did not only cost the researcher three days in London by waiting for interviews, but also extra spending for all the last-minute changes.

Finally, the researcher had some problems because of being a foreigner. Being a foreigner as a researcher can be seen as an advantage and a disadvantage. People who are interviewed may feel more relaxed if researcher is a foreigner. As a person who studies a fact from their country, the researcher received sympathy from most interviewees, and the interviews were conducted in a friendly atmosphere. Nevertheless, being an interviewer in a foreign country, using a foreign language is a rather stressful job. It is a personal challenge. Interviewing requires skills such as asking good questions, and being a good listener, adaptive and flexible according to changing situations, have a firm grasp of the issues being studied, and be unbiased by preconceived notions (Yin, 1994: 56). As well as these skills, a foreigner researcher also requires other skills related to the use of the language which is spoken in the country. Speaking English fluently, having an understandable accent, understanding what the interviewee says and then asking follow-up questions are these main skills. It is particularly hard when the local accent is difficult to

understand. It should also be remembered that even if the researcher has acquired a high level of language skill, it is rather stressful to conduct interviews. In addition, sometimes language skills which are mentioned above are not enough to understand people, since the cultural codes make differences. Nevertheless, the researcher tried to overcome these problems by practicing the interview questions before the interviews. The tape-recording of the interviews particularly was helpful in terms of understanding some parts of the interviews. The researcher also started to get used to the local accent after conducting some interviews.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter explains why and how a multiple-case study method was used as the research method of this study, how the data is analysed and what kind of problems were experienced with regard to the research methods and tools. This research employs a case study method for the following reasons:

- it is based on 'how' question;
- it investigates the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces which is a contemporary phenomenon;
- the researcher has no control over this phenomenon;
- the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces that were developed in the city centre of British cities as the phenomenon under investigation and the regeneration and revitalisation of city centre as the context within which the phenomenon is examined have a very close relation to each other;
- the relation between the phenomenon and the context was not very clear at the beginning of the research.

As a type of case study, this case study is an explanatory case study, since it seeks to explain the causal relation between the extent of the 'publicness' of public spaces and the three variables of the 'publicness' of public spaces (i.e., 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'). This research also shows the characteristics of a descriptive case study, because it seeks to describe the change in the 'publicness' of the public spaces of the 1990s in Britain by investigating them through the variables of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest' within a real-life context. Additionally, this research employs a multiple-case study method; because the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces in Britain, which is the main concern of this research, does not involve an unusual, rare, critical or revelatory case. Second, this research uses the public space model, and it aims to show that this model is capable of measuring the extent of the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces in Britain.

Since this target can be only achieved by testing the model in more than one public space, this research uses a multiple-case study method.

The case studies of the research were carried out in Newcastle. It is a significant example of British cities with regard to several new and attractive public spaces which were recently produced in the city centre. It is also a notable city in terms of the increasing concern of the local authority with the improvement of public spaces of the city centre. Besides, the financial restrictions of the research played a significant role in carrying out this research in only one city in Britain.

As the case studies of this research, two public spaces were examined. These are the HBS and the GMA, both of which are the major public space improvement schemes of the 1990s in the city centre of Newcastle. There are two major reasons to carry out two case studies for this research. The first reason is the complexity, detailed and in-depth examination of two cases, and the second is the limited time and financial resources which did not allow to carry out another case study. Nevertheless, two case studies are sufficient to produce a compelling study, because this research mainly seeks to find literal replication; and two or three cases which produce similar results are, therefore, sufficient for this research. Additionally, the results of two cases provide enough certainty in terms of the multiple case study results.

Two major data sets are identified as the data to be collected for the empirical part of this research. The first is the data set which focuses on the context within which the publicness' of both public spaces are investigated. It includes the transition of Newcastle from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrial city, the recent regeneration policies, strategies and schemes which focus on the city centre, and the roles of public spaces within these policies, strategies and schemes. The second set of data focuses on the two public spaces. It includes the data about the development and use processes of the public spaces with regard to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. The sources of evidence which were used for the data collection of the research are documents, archival records, interviews and direct observations.

The first data set which is mentioned above is used to define the context of the phenomenon under investigation and thus to bring a better understanding to the analysis of the 'publicness' of the public spaces. The second set of data is used to analyse the 'publicness' of each public space separately and individually under four stages of development and use processes through the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. It is also used to compare the results of the HBS to those

of the GMA in order to find out similarities and differences in terms of the changes in the 'publicness' of the public spaces with the recent development schemes.

To carry out such a detailed and in-depth research is hard work. Like other researches with the same complexity, the researcher had to deal with a number of difficulties throughout the research. The prominent ones are the problems of finding documents and archival records related to the GMA, the difficulties of finding and convincing interviewees to be interviewed, the time and energy-consuming nature of interview technique as a research method and difficulties that the researcher dealt with as a foreigner carrying out a qualitative research on a foreign country.

Chapter 5: Newcastle – from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrial city

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at linking the gap between the regeneration and revitalisation strategies and policies in the city centre of Newcastle and the 'publicness' of public spaces which have recently been developed in the city centre. As stated in Chapter 4, we have to consider the closest and the most precise context of the research (i.e., the regeneration and revitalisation policies, programmes and projects of the city centre of Newcastle) in order to investigate the 'publicness' of two public spaces developed in the city centre. These policies and programmes, in fact, are the outcomes of the transformation that Newcastle has experienced in the last three decades. It is not possible to understand entirely the logic behind the regeneration policies and programmes without being aware of this transformation. For this reason, this chapter is dedicated to explaining the transition of Newcastle from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrial city.

With these aims, the chapter starts with a section which concentrates on the period from the 18th century to the 1970s, during which Newcastle became a heavily-industrialised city. It considers the major economic developments which turned Newcastle into a highly-industrialised city. It also includes the main changes in the urban pattern. The following section focuses on the period from the 1970s to the first half of the 1980s. It represents the period when Newcastle experienced severe economic, social and urban decline. The third part of this chapter considers the period which covers the years from the second half of the 1980s to the present days. This period is characterised by a shift of Newcastle from an old industrial city to a post-industrial city. The section, firstly, focuses on the economic changes in Tyneside and Newcastle. It particularly seeks to show the trend of de-industrialisation in Newcastle and its conurbation, 'Tyneside'. Secondly, it concentrates on the image-building and city-marketing campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s to promote Newcastle as a post-industrial city. Thirdly, with regard to the city-marketing and image-building strategies, this section considers the recent urban regeneration and development projects which have caused drastic changes in the urbanscape of the city centre. Finally, this chapter

explains the increasing interest in public spaces in relation to the recent regeneration schemes and the policies of the local authority.

5.2 The period from the 1700s to the 1970s: Newcastle becoming a heavily-industrialised city

Newcastle is a very old city, which was founded by the Romans in the early 2nd century, and conquered by the Normans in the 11th century. The city grew along the River Tyne and to the north within the medieval walls, and flourished as a wealthy trading city between the 12th century and the 18th century (Bean, 1971; Dougan, 1971; Hearnshaw, 1971; Graham, 1976; Crow, 1976; Graham, 1995; Ayris and Sheldon, 1995). By the 18th century, the economic vitality and prosperity of the town increased dramatically with the Greenland trade (i.e., whale-hunting) (Hearnshaw, 1971: 105). Yet, the major factor which boosted the economic vitality of Newcastle was the Industrial Revolution. The following section explains the history of how the city became heavily-industrialised.

5.2.1 The rise of Newcastle as an industrial city

Newcastle became a rising industrial and port city with the development of new industries which were based on coal, glass, iron, ships and many chemicals such as red and white lead, copper, soap, litharge, Sal ammoniac, soda, vitriol, whale-oil, coal-tar and paint ingredients like Prussian blue and lamp-black (Bean, 1971: 74). The rise of the city as an industrial centre was encouraged by many engineering works which were developed in the early 19th century (Bean, 1971). The steam engine was invented; some of the first locomotives were built there; and a practicable electric lamp was first demonstrated in Newcastle (McClelland, 1988: iii-iv).

The development of new industries resulted in a drastic increase in the population of the city. The population of the town, which was 21,000 in 1740, went up to over 35,000 in 1821, to 54,000 in 1839, and finally was over 88,000 in 1851 (Bean, 1971: 68, 72, 105; Hearnshaw, 1971: 116). The big rise in the population of Newcastle in the 19th century brought about the spread of the town beyond the medieval town walls, particularly toward the east and the north of the town (Hearnshaw, 1971: 106; Bean, 1971: 69). The growth of the city gave rise to the new suburbs of Byker, Heaton and Pandon to the east of the medieval city, and Jesmond and Gosforth to the north (Bean, 1971: 105).

As well as the growth of the city, the increase in the population of Newcastle resulted in a significant development of the city centre. The city centre moved from the riverside to the north,

particularly with the development of the new town centre by Richard Grainger between 1834 and 1839. In the 19th century, the new city centre (which is now called 'Grainger Town') became the business, retailing, financial, and leisure centre of Newcastle (Middlebrook, 1950: 260, 263, 304-305, 307; Foster, 1995). After the mid-19th century, the rise of Percy Street and Northumberland Street as the commercial streets of the city, the development of the new entertainment, cultural and education functions along and around these streets (such as the Synagogue in 1881, Amstrong College in 1876, Hancock Museum in 1886, and the Percy Hall and Cirque in 1879) stretched the city centre even more to the north of the riverside (Collard, 1971: 59-60; Mittins, 1978: 23, 44-48). Particularly with the introduction of the tram, Northumberland Street became a leading shopping street in the 1870s and 1880s (Foster, 1995: xxii; Mittins, 1978: 46).

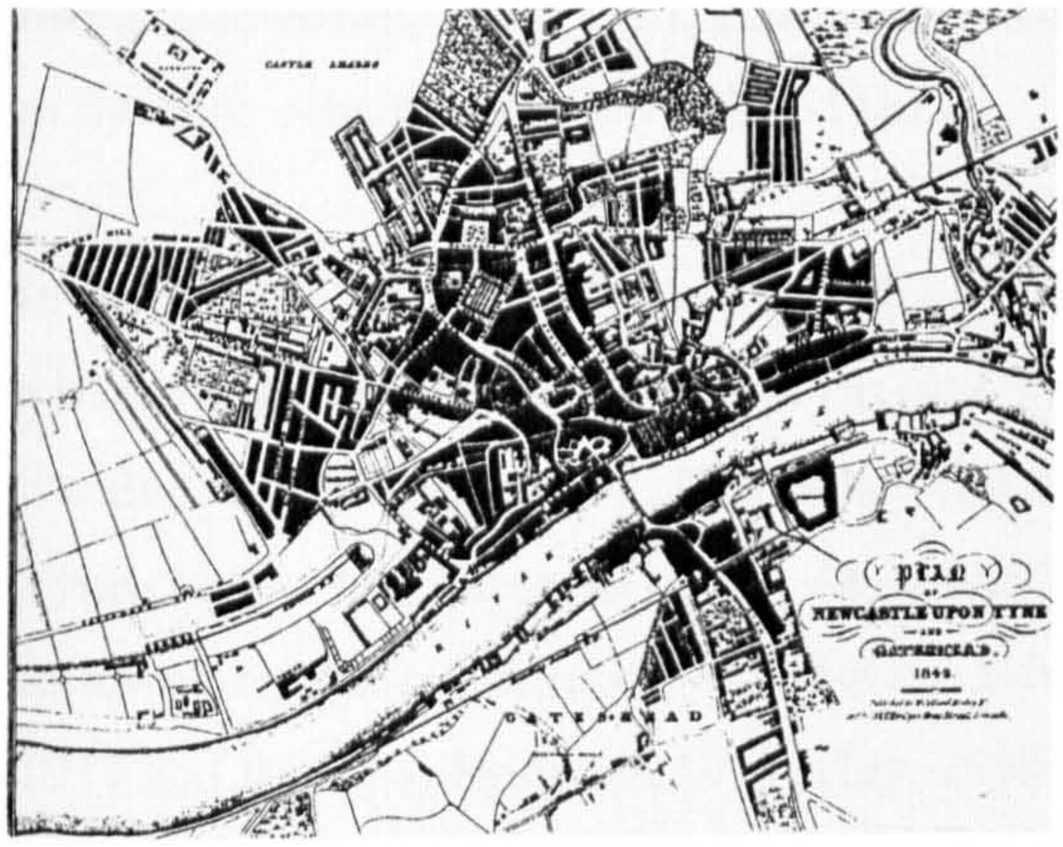

Figure 5.1. The map of Newcastle dated 1842 (Source: Collard, 1971: x)

During these years, the riverside became the industrial and commercial heart of the city. Throughout the 19th century, glassworks, warehouses, ironworks, coal-based shipbuilding, chemicals, light and heavy engineering, and windmills developed along the River Tyne, while working class housing areas surrounded these industrial and port uses (Bean, 1971: 74; Newcastle City Council and TWDC, no date). As the industrial and port functions concentrated on the Quayside and its surroundings, they became dirty and overcrowded places, degraded due to environmentally poor conditions and the population suffered from diseases and epidemics (MacKenzie, 1827, cited in Ayris and Sheldon, 1995: 21; Bean, 1971: 84; Dougan, 1971: 12; Cadogan, 1975: 4; Crow, 1976: 42)

Figure 5.2. The Quayside in the 19th century (Source: Newcastle City Libraries and Arts, 1986: 10)

In 1854, a fire which started in Gateshead demolished a large part of the riverside (Bean, 1971). After the fire, some of the residential population moved away from the riverside to the newly developed suburbs (Ayris and Sheldon, 1995: 25). The Quayside was reconstructed in order to function mostly as a trading and commercial area. Big blocks of shipping offices and warehouses were built;

the quay extended to the mouth of Ouseburn and the walls of the quay were rebuilt between 1866 and 1884 (Ayris and Sheldon, 1995: 15, 25). The railway line, which was to serve the warehouses, wharves and manufacturing companies along the river frontage, was constructed and opened in 1870 (Ayris and Sheldon, 1995: 55). Between 1860 and 1900, some parts of the River Tyne were re-organised as a much busier port (Bean, 1971: 103). The River Tyne was improved for navigation (Bean, 1971: 103); and the river-bed was cleaned and deepened for ships to sail safely in the river (Hearnshaw, 1971: 115-116).

In the second half of the 19th century, the construction of new bridges over the River Tyne created a much busier look to the river and the city. First, the High Level Bridge between 1845 and 1849, the Redheugh Bridge in 1871, and then the Swing Bridge in 1876 were all built over the River Tyne (Hoy, 1999; Bean, 1971: 94; Ayris and Sheldon, 1995: 15; Thompson, 1993: 4). They were followed by the construction of the King Edward Bridge in 1906, the new Redheugh Bridge in 1911 and the Tyne Bridge in 1929 (Hoy, 1999; Thompson, 1993: 5).

5.2.2 The economic recession

The prosperity and wealth of Newcastle, which continued to grow during the 18th and 19th centuries, lasted until the first half of the 20th century. However, starting from the beginning of the 20th century, the economic vitality of the city gradually declined. The glass-industry moved from Newcastle at the beginning of the 20th century (Bean, 1971: 105). This was followed by the transfer of the iron, steel and chemical industries to the banks of the River Tees (Bean, 1971: 105). In the early 20th century, the production of iron, steel and chemicals, and the orders for ships and big machines declined; and the demand for coal decreased (Bean, 1971: 105; Elton, 1983: 2; Vall, 2001: 47-55).

These significant changes of the early 1900s in the economy of Newcastle, accompanied by the 1930s economic recession, devastated the city's economy. The unemployment figures significantly increased. Robinson (1988: 15) reports that "by the mid 1920s, the unemployment rate in the shipbuilding industry was over 40% and in coal-mining the situation was possibly worse, …". The increase in the unemployment figures was followed by population loss. Tyneside lost substantial proportions of its population through migration to other parts of Britain and to Australia, New Zealand and Canada (Bean, 1971: 105; Robinson, 1988: 15).

The departure of some manufacturing industries and the decrease in the economic vitality of Newcastle initiated the decline of the Quayside (Bean, 1971: 105). The decline was later exacerbated by the construction of the Tyne Bridge, which caused the traffic flow to bypass the

Quayside, and thus brought about the isolation of the site (Foster, 1995: xxii; Ayris and Sheldon, 1995: 19; Vall, 2001: 68). Apart from the Quayside, another declining area which was devalued by the construction of the new Tyne Bridge was Grey Street (Cadogan, 1975: 111).

Despite the economic problems of the city and the deterioration which started on the Quayside and Grey Street, during the first half of the 20th century, the growth of the city centre toward the north continued. Grainger Street and Northumberland Street became the major shopping streets. The retail shops for food, clothing and furniture were concentrated on Northumberland Street, while the warehouses and sites for garages extended to the south and north of the street (Mittins, 1978: 46; House and Fullerton, 1955: 56). As well as the new development in Northumberland Street, a new tram way was introduced into Percy Street, while the bus station of Haymarket was developed as the major unloading and loading point for motor buses and a serious slum clearance in Percy Street was undertaken by the Corporation in 1939 (Mittins, 1978: 46-53).

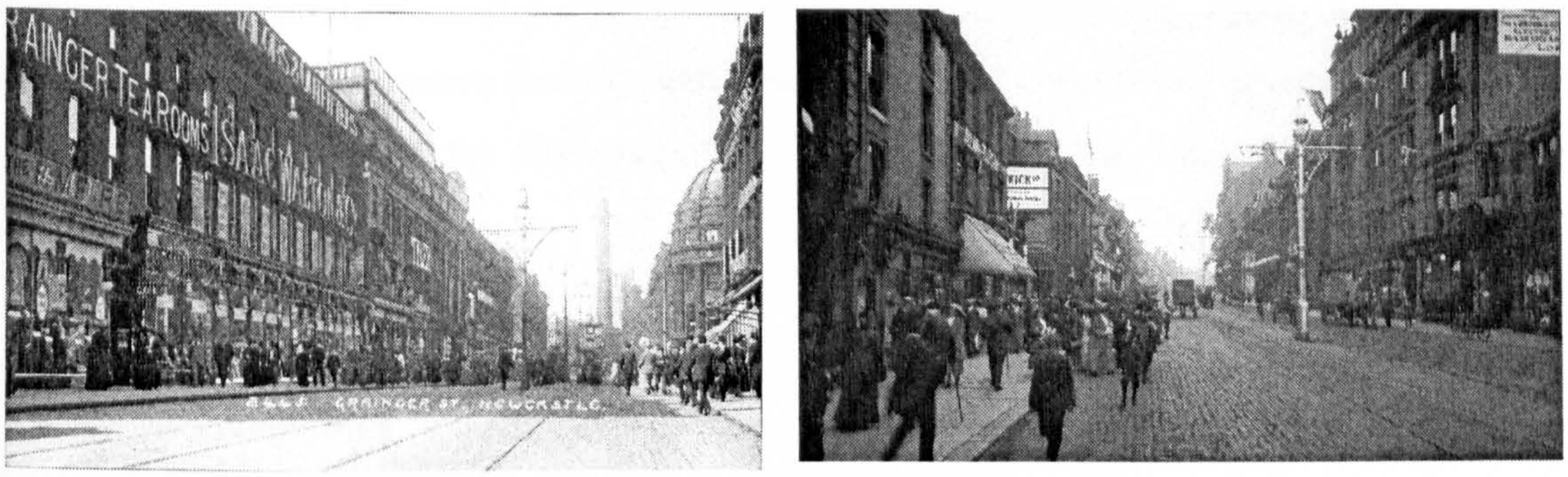

Figure 5.3. Grainger Street in 1912 (left) and Northumberland Street in 1911 (right) (Source Manders, 1995a: 16; Manders, 1995b: 12)

The first half of the 20th century was not as bright as the 19th century in terms of the economic development of Newcastle. Nevertheless, the 1950s and 1960s brought economic vitality back to the city. The next section examines the changes in the city throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

5.2.3 The return of prosperity to the city in the 1950s and 1960s and the radical change in the city

The Second World War brought prosperity back to Tyneside, and thus to Newcastle and revived the economy of the region (Robinson, 1988: 15). During the 1950s and 1960s, new industries, particularly lighter industries, such as food, drink, tobacco and textile industries, flourished in the region (Vall, 2001: 55-56). As well as manufacturing industry, the number of jobs in the service sector significantly increased in the 1960s (Robinson, 1988: 15-18; Vall, 2001: 66). The economic revival of Tyneside brought a considerable decrease in the unemployment rate. In the 1950s, the unemployment rate in Tyneside only occasionally exceeded 3% (Robinson, 1988: 17).

The prosperity and wealth of the post-war period brought a great deal of changes to Newcastle. There were two names which led to the changes of this period: T. Dan Smith, who was the City Council Leader, and Wilfred Burns, who was the City Planning Officer. During the 1960s, they "were extremely proactive in projecting a vision of Newcastle as 'the New Brasilia', a progressive and vibrant regional capital with a bright and prosperous future" (Wilkinson, 1992: 178). They wanted to articulate nineteenth-century Newcastle as a modern and futuristic city, which was to be created out of the ashes of economic decline to become 'the Milan of the North', a 'progressive, beautiful and free' city (Wilkinson, 1992: 178). Led by modernist planning and design principles, they came up with a series of large-scale, high-profile and comprehensive development schemes (Wilkinson, 1992: 178).

These development schemes, which were presented as the 1950 Development Plan and the Review of 1963, brought massive city centre redevelopment (Robinson, 1988: 18; Byrne, 2001: 344). First, the comprehensive development scheme included a motorway proposal to allow fast vehicular traffic to bypass the city centre (Newcastle City Council, 1963: 23; Burns, 1967: 9; Simpson, et. al., 1997: 22). The motorway, which was made up of two north-south and east-west routes, was to border the city centre (Winter, et. al., 1989: 182). Of these, only the Central Motorway East and Claremont Road section were built completely in 1972 (Winter, et. al., 1989: 182). Second, following the principle of separating pedestrian and vehicular traffic, the 1950 Development Plan and the Review of 1963 proposed pedestrian underpasses and elevated bridges (Newcastle City Council, 1963: 53-62; Byrne, 2001: 345) (Figure 5.5). These elevated bridges were built in various parts of the city centre such as the elevated walkway from the Central Library to Manors multi-storey car park (Winter, et. al., 1989: 181). As part of the idea of developing a modern city centre which was to comprise shopping, leisure, recreation and residential uses at the north of Grainger Town, massive

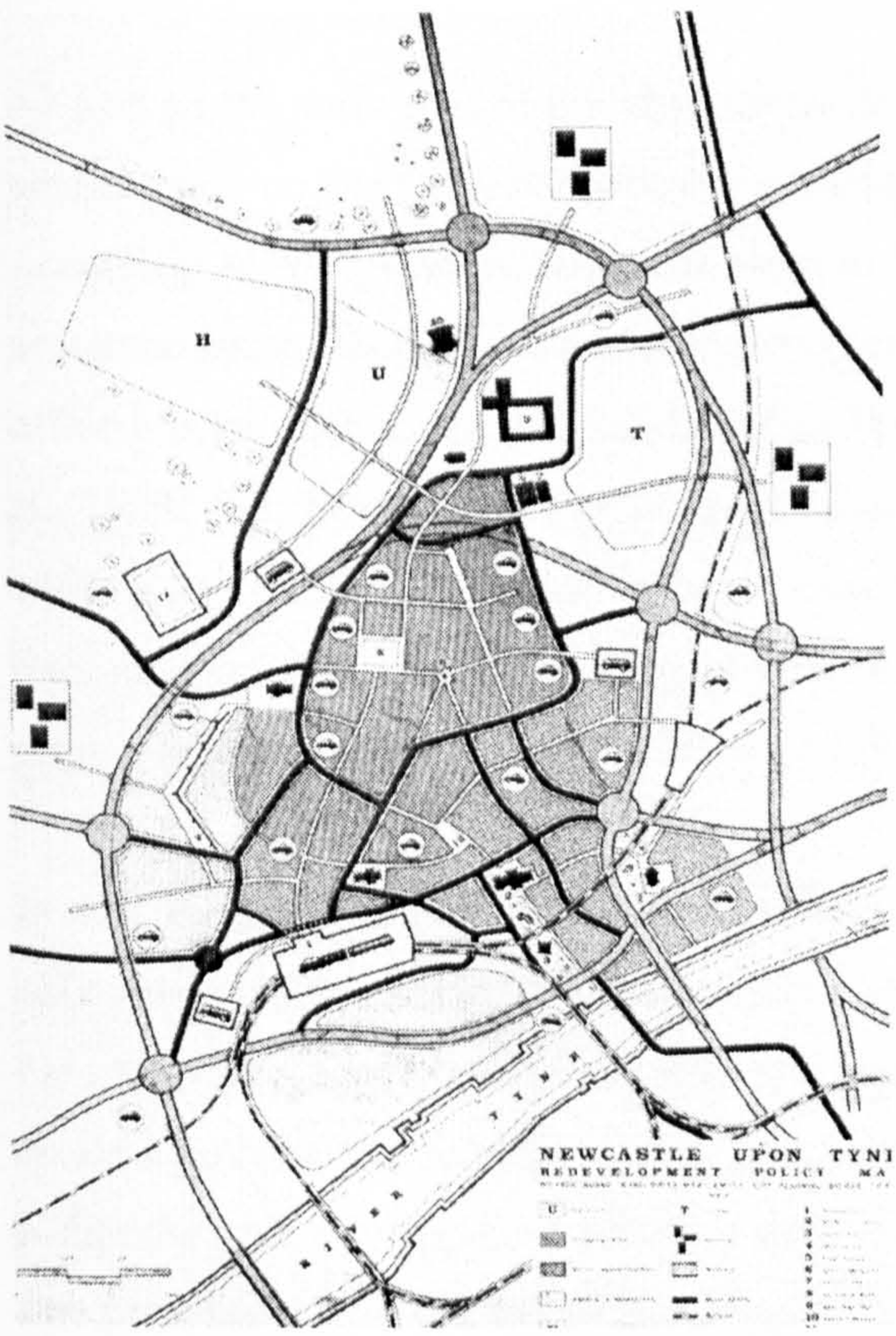

Figure 5.4. The 1962 traffic plan of the city centre (Source: Burns, 1967: 23)

demolition and redevelopment were carried out in the city centre. Consequently, one of the biggest shopping centres of the time, namely Eldon Square Shopping Centre, was built and opened in 1975 (Winter, et. al., 1989: 181; Byrne, 2001: 345). Further, civic buildings were developed to the north of Northumberland Street (Winter, et. al., 1989: 181). In addition, the new education quarter which comprises the University of Newcastle and Northumbria Polytechnic was planned; and consequently the campus area of the University of Newcastle expanded to the north-west of Northumberland Street (Winter, et. al., 1989: 181; Byrne, 2001: 345). The cultural functions (the central library and the gallery which was to combine with a piazza, multi-storey car park and a pedestrian bridge) were developed to the east of Northumberland Street, while the new offices, such as Swan House, were developed to the west of Pilgrim Street (Simpson, et. al., 1997: 7; Burns, 1967: 44; Winter, et. al., 1989: 181-182).

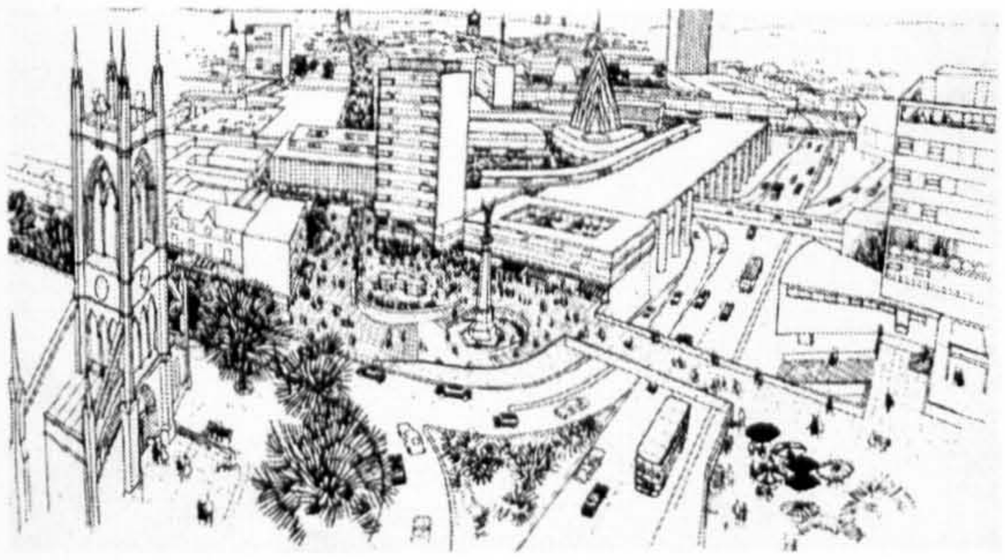

Figure 5.5. Artist's impression of the new and modern city centre of Newcastle, showing the north end of Northumberland Street and Percy Street (Source: Burns, 1967: 27)

As well as the north part of the city centre, the 1950 Development Plan and the Review of 1963 concentrated on the Quayside which increasingly deteriorated throughout the 1950s and 1960s. According to the plans, new offices were to be built in the Quayside area, as well as student accommodation, shops, pubs and theatres (Winter, et. al., 1989: 182). With the exception of a few office blocks, such as the All Saints Office Blocks, few of these ideas were realised (Winter, et. al., 1989: 182; Byrne, 2001: 345). In addition to the proposals for the Quayside, the 1950s and 1960s also experienced extensive demolition and slum clearance schemes. Large areas of social housing were subsequently developed particularly along the bank of the River Tyne, which was originally the riverside belt of industrial and port functions (Cameron and Doling, 1989: 1216).

In sum, the post-war period brought significant prosperity to Newcastle. The 1950s and 1960s not only witnessed the revival of the economy of the city, but also remarkable changes in the city and the city centre. Led by the ambitious development plans of T. Dan Smith and Wilfred Burns to create a futurist and modern city, a great deal of demolition took place in the city centre, and comprehensive development schemes were implemented throughout the 1960s and early-1970s. The prosperous years of the post-war period of Newcastle ended with the economic crisis of the 1970s. The next section examines this economic crisis and its consequences.

5.3 The period from the 1970s and early 1980s: Newcastle as a declining industrial city

The economic recession in Tyne and Wear, and in turn, in Newcastle, started in the 1970s and reached its nadir in the early 1980s due to the decline of the three heavy industries of coal mining, shipbuilding and heavy engineering (Usher and Davoudi, 1992: 77; Winter, et. al., 1989: 186; Lang, 1999: 127; Vall, 2001: 60-61). Consequently, the unemployment figures drastically increased during the 1970s, particularly during the recession between 1978-1979 and 1982-1983 (Robinson, 1988: 76; Lang, 1999: 127). Usher and Davoudi (1992: 77) report that "the manufacturing sector, based upon coal, shipbuilding and heavy engineering, experienced the loss of 70,000 jobs in the period 1971-1984, representing a decline of 43%". In 1985, the unemployment rate was 20% in Tyne and Wear, while the national average was 6.6% (Usher and Davoudi, 1992: 77).

The economic decline not only resulted in a continuous increase in the unemployment figures, but also a drastic decrease in the population. Table 5.1 shows the population levels of each district of Tyne and Wear and the total population of the county between 1961 and 1976. Table 5.2 indicates the population increase of each district of Tyne and Wear and the county of Tyne and Wear. As can be seen from Table 5.2, Newcastle experienced the highest population loss among the five districts of Tyne and Wear[1]. While the population decrease in the city was -8.37% between 1961 and 1971, this rate deteriorated to -9.88% between 1971 and 1981 (Table 5.2). The Newcastle City Council (1993: 4) reports that the population loss of this period was particularly concentrated in the economically active age groups which generally comprised younger adults, or families with young children.

Districts/Year	1961	1971	1981
Gateshead	223,659	225,122	211,333
Newcastle	*336,436*	*308,276*	*277,829*
North Tyneside	210,492	207,920	198,209
South Tyneside	184,783	177,083	160,410
Sunderland	288,478	293,293	294,894
Tyne & Wear County	1,243,848	1,211,694	1,142,675

Table 5.1. Population levels of each district of Tyne and Wear and the total population of the county in 1961, 1971 and 1981 (Source: Office of Population and Surveys, 1982: xvi)

[1] Newcastle is still experiencing a population loss. The city's total population was 264,069 in 1991 (Office of Population Census and Surveys, 1992: 17), while this figure went down to 259,573 in 2001 (Office for National Statistics, 2002: 3).

	% between 1961 and 1971	% between 1971 and 1981
Gateshead	0.65	-6.13
Newcastle	*-8.37*	*-9.88*
North Tyneside	-1.22	-4.67
South Tyneside	-4.17	-9.42
Sunderland	1.67	0.55
Tyne and Wear County	-2.59	-5.70

Table 5.2. Population increase or decrease in each district of Tyne and Wear and the total population of the county in percentages between 1961 and 1971, and between 1971 and 1981 (Source: Office of Population and Surveys, 1982: xvi)

The economic depression resulted in vast derelict or underused land along the riverside of the River Tyne (Lang, 1999: 127). The communities which were significantly hit by the economic decline of the 1970s and 1980s were those which were employed in the heavy industries of coal mining, shipbuilding and heavy engineering and those particularly who lived in the social housing areas along the river (Robinson, 1988: 78; Winter, et. al., 1989: 184; Cameron and Doling, 1994: 1216). The west-end of Newcastle, comprising Elswick, Benwell and Scotswood Road, and the east-end of the city including Byker and Walker were such areas which deteriorated more and more after the onset of the 1970s economic recession (Robinson, 1988: 6). In July 1985, the unemployment rate in Elswick Park was 46% (Winter, et. al., 1989: 184). Similarly, in Cruddas Park (a neighbourhood in Newcastle's West End which included high-rise apartment blocks), the unemployment rate was 39.4% in April 1987, and a male unemployment rate of 49.8% (Robinson, 1988: 78). The east-end of Newcastle also suffered from high unemployment rates. In April 1987, the unemployment rate of Byker was between 25% and 30%, while the unemployment rate of its neighbour, Walker, was over 30% (Figure 5.6). By 1986, the unemployment rate of Walker was double the average for Newcastle (Madanipour and Bevan, 1999: 23). As well as the wards along the riverside, peripheral Council estates like Newbiggin Hall also suffered very high unemployment and deprivation (Robinson, 1988: 78). The unemployment problems of these disadvantaged areas were also accompanied by lower standards of education and health service provision, and high rate of crime (Robinson, 1988: 78).

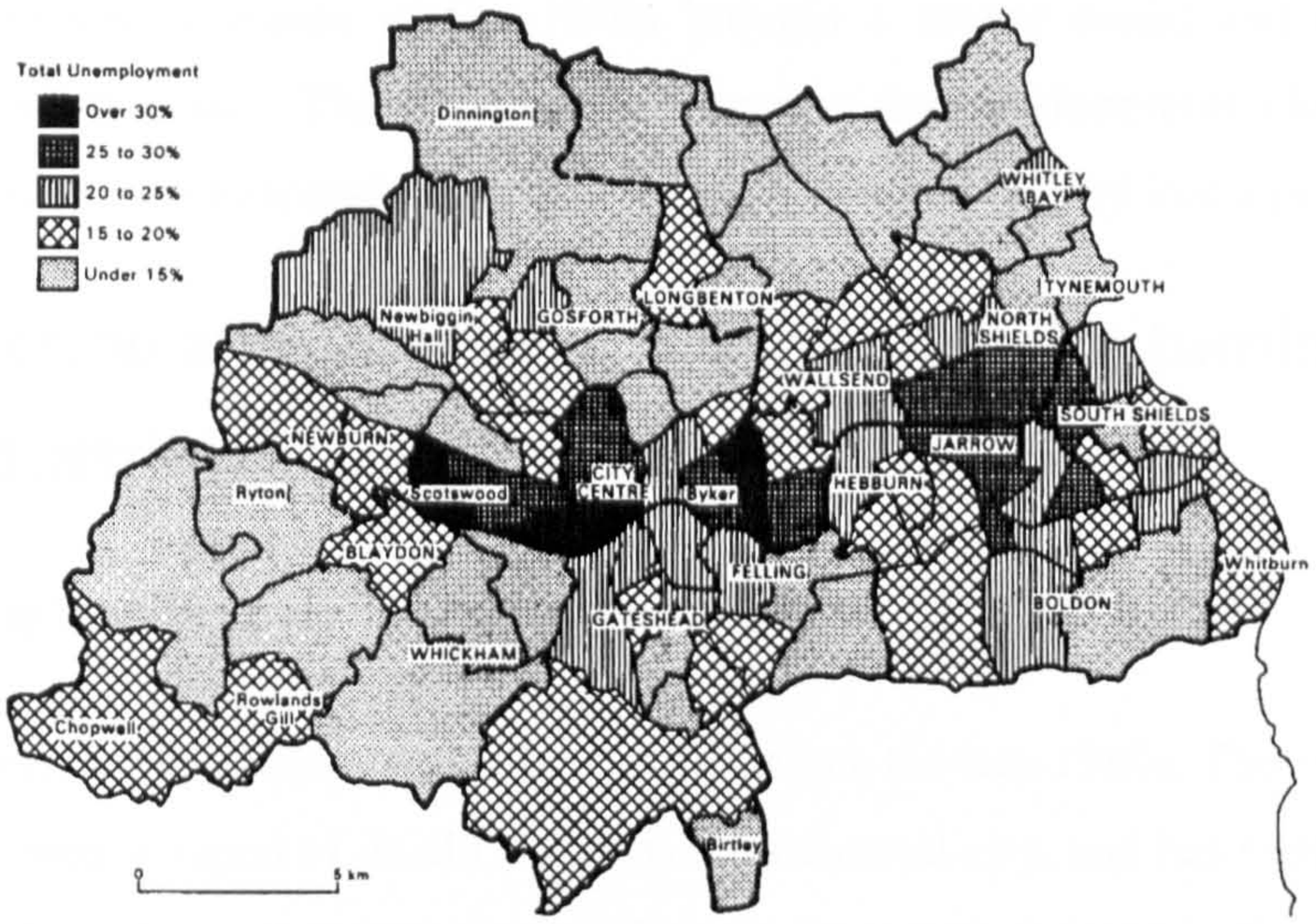

Figure 5.6. Unemployment rates for Tyneside wards in April 1987 (Source: Robinson, 1988: 78)

The economic recession not only hit the old industrial and residential areas of the city, but also the city centre. The unemployment rate in the city centre of Newcastle was between 25% and 30% in 1987, while the unemployment rate of the Quayside was over 30% (Figure 5.6). The economic decline brought about the deterioration of the physical fabric of the city centre. The Quayside and its environs, which became derelict due to the decline of the major industries and the transfer of the port functions from the Quayside to the mouth of the River Tyne in the early 1980s, were the major declining areas on the periphery of the city centre (Elton, 1983: 2; Hoy, 1999). At the heart of the city centre, Grainger Town became one of the main declining areas because of the erosion of the economic base of the area. Grainger Town was marginalized as a retail location; the urban fabric of Grainger Town deteriorated; and its residential and office population significantly decreased (Healey, et. al., 2002: 41). Healey, et. al (2002: 3) report that in the late 1980s, the area's residential population was just under 1000. The area has lost its offices to peripheral locations, which left up to 1 million square feet of floor space vacant, which was subject to widespread property speculation without refurbishment or redevelopment (Healey, et. al., 2002: 3). According to the report of EDAW (1996: 19), Grainger Town suffered from the classic symptoms of the decline of historic urban quarters, including vacant space, particularly upper floors, rapid turnover of occupiers, a weak property market characterised by hope value, traffic congestion and limited provision of car parking, lack of green open space, a poor quality public realm, and a lack of developer, investor and occupier confidence. EDAW consultants summed up Grainger Town by stating that "Despite a generally high quality of 'classical townscape', the external public realm and spaces between the buildings is woefully inadequate for a European regional capital of the scale and importance of Newcastle" (Healey, et. al., 2002: 62)

In sum, the economic recession of the 1970s brought a severe social and urban decline to Newcastle and its city centre. The next section examines the developments after the mid-1980s which have led Newcastle to transform itself from an old-industrial city into a post-industrial city.

5.4 The period after the mid-1980s: Newcastle turning into a post-industrial city

5.4.1 Economic changes in the 1980s and 1990s

Newcastle has been experiencing significant changes since the late-1980s. These changes indicate that the city has been stripped of its old image as an industrial city, and has started to show some of the characteristics of a post-industrial city[2]. One of the major changes in the city's economy is the growth of the service sector. The shift in the economy of Tyneside from manufacturing to service sector originally started in the 1960s; yet, the service sector has significantly grown since the beginning of the 1970s (Robinson, 1988: 18; Byrne, 2001: 343; Vall, 2001: 66). In Tyneside, 53% of jobs were in services in 1971; it rose to 59% in 1978, 63% in 1981, 69% in 1984 (Robinson, 1988: 18-19, 23). The service sector jobs in the 1960s and 1970s were in public sector education and health services and in public administration, whereas, in the first half of the 1980s, there was a remarkable rise in the number of jobs in insurance, banking, finance and business services, in accountancy, legal services and other professional and scientific services, and a variety of other miscellaneous services (Robinson, 1988: 18, 22).

While the service sector in Tyneside has grown since the early 1970s, the manufacturing industry has continuously shrunk. In 1981, 29% of the jobs in Tyneside were in manufacturing industry (Robinson, 1988: 18). By 1984, this figure had fallen to 23% (compared to the UK average of 25%); and by 1988, it was around 20% (Robinson, 1988: 23). Hence, Tyneside's dependence on manufacturing industry has been markedly and rapidly reduced since the 1980s, while its dependence on the service sector has significantly increased since the early 1970s. As Robinson (1988) and Vall (2001) claim, these changes in the service sector and manufacturing industry are important indications which show that Tyneside has experienced a shift from an industrial period

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[2] It will be useful to describe what the term 'post-industrial city' means for this research. McClelland (1988: v) defines 'post-industrial' as "an economy in which manufacturing has been so automated that productivity in that sector is hardly a problem any more, and the proportion of the labour force employed in it is negligible" (McClelland, 1988: v). For this research, 'post-industrial city' has three major indications. First, the post-industrial city is a city, in which the economy specialises in service and technology-based activities. Second, the post-industrial city is a city, in which the economy experiences de-industrialisation which is represented by a shift from labour-intensive production to capital-intensive production. This does not necessarily mean that the production process completely dispenses with the labour force as one of the components of production. Yet, the labour force which is required for production is highly qualified (a high level of education and specialisation). Another indication of a post-industrial city is the existence of footloose industries and multi-national companies and institutions which the city's economy is mostly dependent on.

to a post-industrial period. When the de-industrialisation trend of Newcastle is examined, it is also possible to note that, compared to the changes in the employment rates of the other British cities, there has been a significant decrease in the employment rate in the manufacturing sector, while there is a striking rise in the employment rate in the business sector (Table 5.3). Of the changes in the employment rates in manufacture and business services in the eight most highly-industrialised British cities, Newcastle had the highest increase in the employment rate in the business sector (93.5%) and the second highest fall in the employment rate in manufacturing industry between 1981 and 1987. From these figures, it is also possible to note that the increase in the employment rate in the service sector in Newcastle was almost able to compensate for the whole loss of jobs in the manufacturing, distribution and transport sectors between 1981 and 1987. This also illustrates the considerable growth in the service sector in Newcastle.

	Manufacture	Distribution	Transport	Business Services	Total
Liverpool	-44.2	-28.4	-34.7	+50.3	-20.4
Sheffield	-38.2	-16.9	-9.3	+14.6	-16.1
Birmingham	-27.3	-8.1	-12.6	+21.3	-9.0
Glasgow	-27.7	-14.2	-28.4	+46.7	-7.8
Manchester	-17.9	-8.5	-7.6	+69.3	-4.1
Leeds	-15.0	+4.8	-8.5	+25.9	-2.3
London	-29.6	+0.6	-14.7	+70.9	-1.6
Newcastle	**-43.7**	**-10.3**	**-18.0**	**+93.5**	**-0.4**

Table 5.3. Percentage employment change for eight large cities, 1981-87 (Source: Champion and Townsend, 1990; cited in Cameron and Doling, 1994: 1213)

As far as manufacturing industry is concerned, the decrease in the dependence of the Tyneside economy on manufacturing industry mainly resulted from the decline in mining, shipbuilding and heavy engineering industries (Robinson, 1988: 46). Nevertheless, in the 1980s, chemicals, the food industry, timber and furniture and the clothing industry fared reasonably well on Tyneside; and a few large-scale manufacturing developments, such as Komatsu, a major Japanese company producing earth-moving equipment, Findus, a frozen food company, Nissan, a Japanese car plant, came to Tyneside (Robinson, 1988: 46). From this, it is possible to note that Tyneside attracted international capital in the 1980s and 1990s. Another characteristic of the Tyneside economy in the 1980s was the increasing dependence on manufacturing industries which are predominantly externally-owned and externally-controlled. Robinson (1988: 46) notes that "most of the larger manufacturing establishments in the area are branch plants of national and multi-national companies with headquarters elsewhere –principally in London". In addition, in the 1980s, there was significant Conservative Government support to increase productivity based on technological

improvement (Robinson, 1988: 57). This brought about the creation of new jobs which are characterised by a high-quality labour force.

Briefly put, the changes in the economy of Newcastle after the mid-1980s indicate that the city has been experiencing a shift from an industrial city to a post-industrial city.

5.4.2 Building a new image for Newcastle

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Newcastle suffered from its poor and fairly negative image. The city was associated with high unemployment, economic depression, being run-down and isolated, Labour-ruled, situated in a declining region, and suffering from bad social and housing problems. As well as these images, Wilkinson describes the past images of Newcastle as follows:

> The past city is perceived in fairly negative terms, being regarded as somewhat bleak, impersonal, insular, harsh, threatening and lacking a strong sense of community. It was also felt to lack a distinctive identity and to suffer from a somewhat flat image in the way it was perceived by outsiders. This past image of Newcastle is essentially a view of the modernist city which is seen to be synonymous with a sense of anomy and disillusionment. (Wilkinson, 1992: 203)

Starting from the late-1980s and early-1990s, the widespread opinion was that the old image of Newcastle as a heavily-industrialised city needed to be changed, and new and positive images should be created in order to attract inward investment, revitalise the declining economy of the city, and bring urban and social regeneration (Hetherington and Robinson, 1988: 192; Wilkinson, 1992: 175, 177; Tavsanoglu and Healey, 1992: 120). On the basis of this idea, the image-building and city-marketing campaigns for Newcastle started in the late 1980s.

The early images of Newcastle, which were promoted by the City Council and Tyne and Wear Development Corporation (TWDC), were "a vibrant and strong regional capital with a high quality of living and sustainable inward investment", "a service economy with a healthy slimmed-down manufacturing sector", "a European business centre of excellence and quality", and "a leading European centre of trade and commerce" (Wilkinson, 1992: 205). As it is possible to note, the new images of Newcastle tried to erase its past image as an old industrial city, while they sought to promote the city as a post-industrial city. At the national level, Newcastle was shown as the regional capital which welcomed new investors by guaranteeing a sustainable (thus, safe and low-risk) business environment. Second, by suggesting that Newcastle was to provide a high quality environment for living, the new images clearly targeted certain groups, particularly the affluent and prosperous groups to attract them to the city. Third, the new images of Newcastle positioned the service sector and the clean manufacturing sector at the heart of the city's

economic development, instead of heavy industrial activities which created the negative past images of the city. Fourth, the images for the city as 'a European business centre' and 'a leading European centre of trade and commerce' sought to find a place for Newcastle in the global market through which the city would compete with other cities. They also show us the intention of the city to attract international investments and new target groups, such as international investors, and their employees, tourists and conventioneers to Newcastle.

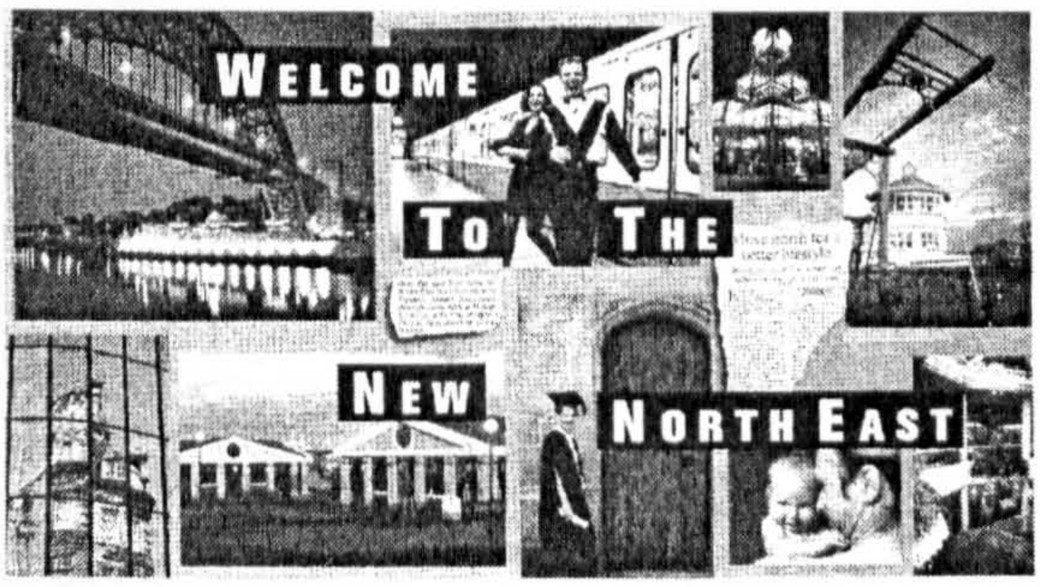

Figure 5.7. One of the brochures from the image-building campaign of the TWDC in the early 1990s (Source: Wilkinson, 1992: 192)

As well as these image-building strategies for Newcastle, the new images for Newcastle significantly emphasised the distinctive social, cultural, and historical characteristics of the city, and the advantages of living and working in Newcastle particularly when compared to other cities. Wilkinson (1992: 203) argues that, in the late-1980s, the image-building policies of four agencies (the Newcastle City Council, the TWDC, The Newcastle Initiatives and The Northern Development Company) stressed the city's past heritage and its stock of fine historic building, which reflected the desire to recreate a sense of identity and distinctiveness in the future city. The cultural identity of the city was also promoted through the Geordie accent, and the friendly, warm and affective character of the local people (Wilkinson, 1992: 205). This was not only to show the distinctive character of Newcastle, but also to point out that Newcastle is a friendly city to live and work. Wilkinson (1992: 182) underlines that the image-building strategies of the late-1980s and early-1990s defined the quality of the local workforce as 'versatile', 'strong', 'pragmatic' and 'persevering' and the local people as the people who have a strong sense of community. Similarly, they defined Newcastle as a city which offers a good quality of life through 'quality city centre retailing', 'the best rapid transit system in Europe', 'beautiful countryside' and the area's wealth of cultural resources (Wilkinson, 1992: 182).

Figure 5.8. The recent image-building campaign of Newcastle and Gateshead in order to become the capital of culture 2008 (Source: Author unknown, 2002b: 3)

The image-building and city marketing strategies of recent years have promoted Newcastle as the 'party city', the 'city of education', the 'sporting city', the 'working city', the 'living city', and the 'city of transport and communication'. In addition to these new images, both Newcastle and Gateshead have also started to promote themselves as the 'city of culture'; and they are currently bidding to be the Capital of Culture in 2008 (Author unknown, 2002b: 3; Author unknown, 2002c: 19).

5.4.3 The re-emergence of the city centre of the post-industrial city

The attempt to construct new positive images for Newcastle and attract inward investment, labour, tourists and affluent groups to the city have gone hand in hand with the creation of a new urban landscape. Since the second half of the 1980s, the look of the city, particularly the physical environment of the city centre and its periphery, has been changed remarkably by the urban regeneration and redevelopment projects. These projects were physically fragmented, self-sufficient and self-referential developments, rather than complementary parts of a comprehensive regeneration plan for the whole city. They were generally based on the property-led regeneration strategy, according to which the regeneration was seen as dependent on the private sector property developments (Healey, 1992: 16; Byrne, 2001: 353). These schemes comprised both consumption-oriented (such as housing, retailing, leisure and cultural uses) and production-oriented activities. They were in general large-scale, highly speculative and commercial, mixed-use and prestigious schemes, which targeted national, international and multi-national businesses, affluent groups and tourists, rather than all segments of the population. Additionally, they were seen as powerful marketing tools to help Newcastle to reposition itself and to find new niches in competitive urban markets (Tavsanoglu and Healey, 1992: 120). In the 1980s, the regeneration schemes were predominantly led by the central government agencies, particularly the TWDC, in

partnership with the private sector. In the 1990s, the local authority gradually took over the role of the TWDC, and has started to become actively involved in the regeneration schemes.

The urban regeneration and redevelopment schemes were launched on the periphery and at the core of the city centre. One of the significant regeneration schemes on the periphery of the city centre focuses on the Quayside, i.e. south of the city centre. Since the late 1980s, both central and local governments, in partnership with the private sector, have encouraged the mixed-use developments which replaced derelict and run down land along the riverside, and brought high-quality and attractive working and living environments, as well as commercial, leisure, cultural and tourist-oriented activities. The Quayside's regeneration scheme was divided into three major parts: The West Quayside, The Central Quayside and The East Quayside. The West Quayside was planned as a business quarter with the accompaniment of recreation and leisure facilities (Hoy, 1999). The Newcastle Business Park, as the exclusive business quarter, was developed by the Tyneside Enterprise Zone[3], which attracted a number of major national and international companies to the Quayside (Cameron and Doling, 1994: 1215). The Closegate Office Development is another important development scheme which has increased the high-quality office capacity of the city by providing a privileged location for private companies by the River Tyne (Hoy, 1999). As well as the office developments, The West Quayside includes a hotel development (Copthorne Hotel) and Hanging Gardens, an award-winning urban scheme, which transformed the derelict land into an urban park (Tavsanoglu, 1996: 253; Baird, 1992: 20).

Figure 5.9. Newcastle Business Park (Source: Hoy, 1999)

When the Central Quayside is considered, the Newcastle Science Park was one of the prime schemes on the site. It was developed as an ideal springboard for industries of the future – biotechnology, electronics, materials technology and advanced manufacturing systems (Winter, et. al., 1989: 192). The Newcastle Science Park was also expected to establish important links with the two universities of the city by providing research facilities (Winter, et. al., 1989: 192). Its establishment was seen as vital for the city and the region to remain a dynamic manufacturing

[3] The Tyneside Enterprise Zone, as with other Enterprise Zones which were developed in Britain, provided private industrial and commercial companies with exemption from rates for ten years (up until 1991) and 100% capital allowances against Income Tax and Corporation Tax on industrial and commercial buildings (Robinson, 1988: 53). The Enterprise Zone was used to attract inward investment to the city.

centre (Winter, et. al., 1989: 192). As well as the Newcastle Science Park, a new Magistrates Courthouse was developed on The Central Quayside. In addition, various historical buildings and warehouses, such as the Exchange Building, Baltic Chambers and the historical buildings at the lower end of Dean Street, were converted into flats and offices; and a new hotel was constructed in the Close (Winter, et. al., 1989: 192; Hoy, 1999; Newcastle City Council and TWDC, no date).

Figure 5.10. The Central and East Quayside (Source: Hoy, 1999)

The east section of the Quayside which stretches from the Milk Market to the Ouseburn, was also planned to accommodate a new business quarter with high-quality offices, leisure and commercial facilities, and a housing development (Cameron and Doling, 1994: 1215; TWDC, no date; Hoy, 1999). The scheme included a 1170-space multi-storey car park with further off-street car parking areas (Author unknown, 1992: 30).

The urban regeneration schemes of the 1980s and early 1990s on the riverside mainly focused on the Newcastle side. Yet, the regeneration of the Quayside of Newcastle has recently been seen as a part of The Gateshead Quays Scheme. The Scheme, which is being undertaken on the bank of the Gateshead side covers a 52-acre riverside site (Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council, 1999). It includes the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art, the Gateshead Millennium Bridge, a Music Centre, new hotels and leisure activities (Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council, 1999). The Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art which was opened in July 2002, accommodates galleries, a cinema, artists' studios and education workshops, as well as restaurants, a café-bar, a bookshop and an information centre (Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council, 1999). The Music Centre will comprise a 1650-seat concert hall, rehearsal rooms and a specialist music library (Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council, 1999). It will also include a Regional Music School (Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council, 1999). For the rest of the project area, the Tyne Bridge Hilton International Hotel, a multiplex cinema and another hotel linking the Baltic and Music Centre, restaurants and specialist leisure retailers, and nightclubs will be constructed (Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council, 1999). Within the framework of the Gateshead Quays Scheme, the Gateshead Millennium Bridge, which is a foot and cycle bridge that links Gateshead Quays

with the Quayside of Newcastle was completed and opened in September 2001 and was recently named as 'Building of the Year' in the Stirling Awards.

Figure 5.11. The computer-animated image of the Gateshead Quay Scheme (left) and Gateshead Millennium Bridge showing the Quayside of Newcastle (right) (Source: Newcastle City Council, 2000: 22; C.P. Print Ltd., 2002)

The Quayside is a significant example of the physically fragmented, self-sufficient and self-referential regeneration schemes at the periphery of the city centre of Newcastle. It is also a good example of property, image and culture-led regeneration schemes carried out in Newcastle. As one can see, the overall scheme is made up of highly speculative and commercial, mixed-used flagship projects. It consists of an amalgamation of a series of projects which are weakly integrated with the urbanscape of the other parts of the city centre. Despite its physically fragmented setting, the Quayside, after its redevelopment, has become one of the main marketing devices of Newcastle, with its attractive and alluring urban landscape.

Another significant physically fragmented, self-referential and self-sufficient regeneration scheme at the edge of the city centre is the Theatre Village and China Town Development Strategy. The project, which was launched by The Newcastle Initiative[4] in the late 1980s, was based on a culture and property-led regeneration strategy. In relation to culture-led strategy, the scheme aimed at developing a 'theatre village' which was to bring together arts and leisure in Newcastle's West End (Robinson, 1988: 56; Winter, et. al., 1989: 193; EDAW, 1996: 20). The scheme was to be centred around the New Tyne Theatre –one of the few Victorian opera houses left in Britain- and was to combine live entertainment with training facilities in all aspects of theatre, both on and off the stage (Winter, et. al., 1989: 193). With street cafés and buskers, the Theatre Village was to be one of the most desired inner-city locations in Britain (Winter, et. al.; 1989: 193). In relation to property-led regeneration strategy, the scheme proposed mainly consumption-oriented activities and commercial elements. On the basis of these proposals, old and underused buildings were

[4] The Newcastle Initiative is a public-private partnership which involves bringing representatives of the private and public sectors to promote various urban regeneration schemes in Newcastle (Robinson, 1988: 56). A significant involvement from business groups is one of the major characteristics of the partnership (Byrne, 2001: 355).

refurbished and converted to office, retail and residential units, restaurants, bars, pubs and other leisure activities (Tavsanoglu, 1996: 267-280; The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992). The Theatre Village and China Town Development Strategy which was driven by culture and property-led regeneration strategies has turned the area into one of the major devices of Newcastle to promote itself as a culture city.

Apart from the Quayside and the Theatre Village and China Town Development Strategy, there are a number of regeneration schemes which were developed at the edge of the city centre in the 1990s in order to promote Newcastle as a culture, leisure, tourism and sports destination. The International Centre for Life is one such development. The Centre, which was developed next to the Central Station, includes a visitor attraction, a scientific institute researching on biotechnology and the social aspects of genetics, a venue for conferences and other events, high quality offices and a resource centre which includes a number of workshops to enhance the scientific education of students (Centre for Life, 2002). The stadium of Newcastle United Football Club is another development scheme which has encouraged the image of Newcastle as a sporting city. The development scheme enabled the club to increase the capacity of the stadium to 51,000 (Joannou, no date). As well as the football stadium, the Telewest Arena, which was developed in 1995, is another place to host major sporting events, as well as concerts (Newcastle City Council, 2000: 10). Another important scheme which is under construction is the Newgate House multiplex and leisure proposal. The complex will provide cinemas and other family leisure uses (Newcastle City Council, 2000: 10). These regeneration schemes are characterised by image and property-led regeneration strategies as the main driving forces behind their development. Other common points of these schemes are consumption-oriented activities and speculative and commercial elements, such as high-quality offices which these schemes contain. Finally, all of them are physically fragmented, self-sufficient and self-referential schemes which do not bear any relation with their surroundings.

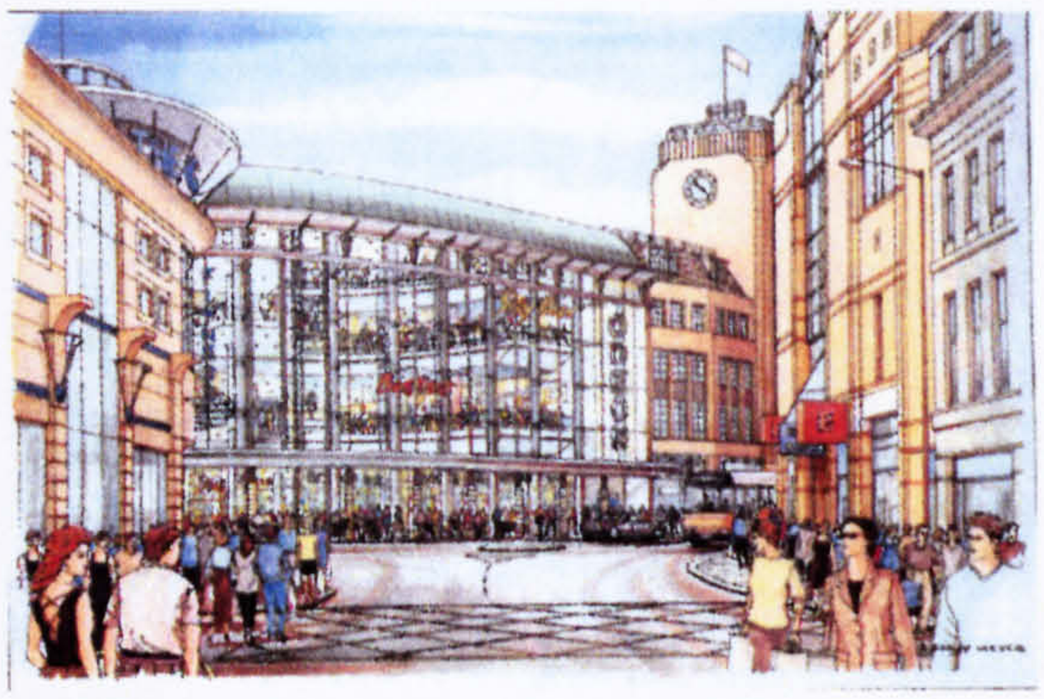

Figure 5.12. Newgate House multiplex and leisure proposal on Newgate Street (Source: Newcastle City Council, 2000: 10)

As well as the regeneration schemes at the edge of the city centre, there are two major regeneration schemes at the heart of the city centre. One of these schemes focuses on the nineteenth-century city centre. The scheme can be divided into two historical phases. The first one

started in the second half of the 1980s when The Newcastle Initiative launched the Grey Street Renaissance (EDAW; 1996: 20). The scheme aimed at turning Grey Street into one of the main office quarters of the city, upgrading the physical fabric, infrastructure and facilities and assisting the investment of the private sector through financial subsidies (Grey Street Initiative, 1988; cited in Tavsanoglu, 1996: 269; EDAW, 1996: 20). Based on these targets, some historical buildings along Grey Street were redeveloped by retaining their facades; many of the buildings in High Bridge Street were refurbished; a multi-storey car park with a capacity of 283 cars was developed in Dean Street; the Theatre Royal and the Central Arcade were restored (Author unknown, 1988: 27; The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992; Tavsanoglu, 1996: 271-272). The second historical phase of the regeneration schemes focusing on the nineteenth-century city centre started in the early 1990s under the name of the Grainger Town (GT) Project. Although the scheme gathered the individual schemes which have been undertaken within the nineteenth-century historical city centre under its framework, it is a physically fragmented, self-sufficient and self-referential regeneration scheme at the core of the city centre. The GT Project is one of the 1990s prime urban regeneration schemes, which was driven by image, culture and property-led regeneration strategies. Within the framework of this project, the development of highly speculative and commercial and mainly consumption-oriented activities has been encouraged. Hence, the historical and under-used buildings have been refurbished and converted into flats, offices, retail, and leisure activities; the development of the existing businesses and the formation of the new businesses in the area have been encouraged; and the area has been promoted as one of the major destinations for art, cultural activity and tourism (Newcastle City Council, no date). The GT Project which is driven by a public-private partnership, has not only improved the area, but has also turned it into one of the most powerful marketing tools used by the city of Newcastle.

As well as the GT Project, another large-scale, highly speculative and commercial development in the city centre is Eldon Garden. Within the framework of the scheme, Handyside Arcade (an Edwardian shopping arcade) and the surrounding buildings were demolished in the late-1990s to give way to Eldon Gardens as an extension of Eldon Square Shopping Centre (Author unknown, 1995a: 3; Winter, 1989: 183). Next to it, on Percy Street, a new multi-storey car park was developed (Winter, 1989: 183). Behind the multi-storey car park, up-market flats were constructed in Leazes Square (Winter, 1989: 183). Again, this development which is dominated by consumption-oriented activities, not only increased the retailing capacity of the city centre, but also strengthened Newcastle's image as a regional capital for retailing.

5.4.4 The increasing concern with public spaces

As well as these developments which have turned the city centre into an attractive place, public spaces have begun to be seen as one of the major components of the urban regeneration and development projects of the city centre. Since the early 1990s, the investment in the public realm in the city centre has drastically increased. According to a survey undertaken by the City Council, the investment in the public realm in the city centre in 1999 is ten times higher than it was in 1990 (Figure 5.13).

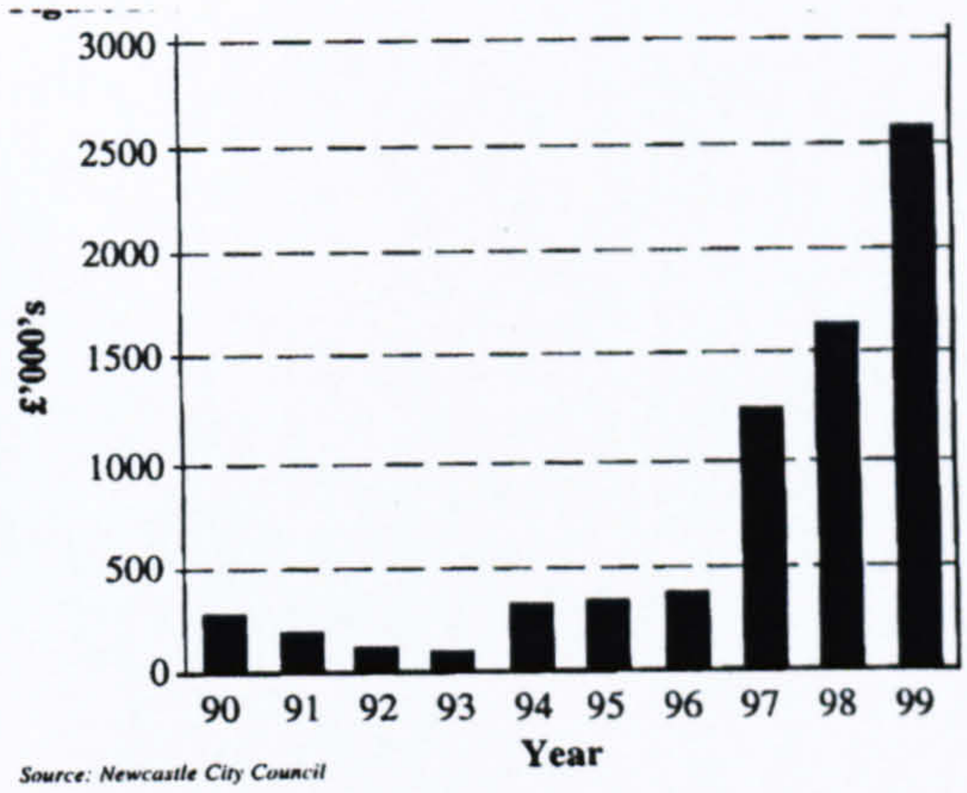

Figure 5.13. Investment in the public realm in the city centre of Newcastle between 1990 and 1999 (Source: Newcastle City Council, 2000: 28)

Since the late 1980s, a number of public realm schemes have been undertaken in Newcastle through public-private partnerships. Good-looking, attractive and well-maintained public spaces associated with artworks have steadily increased in the city centre and on its periphery. For example, a riverside promenade which stretches from the west end (i.e., the Newcastle Business Park) to the east end of the Quayside (i.e., the Ouseburn) was developed and officially opened in 1996 (TWDC, 1988; Henderson, 1996: 27) (Figure 5.14). The three-mile riverside promenade contains a number of artworks based on a maritime theme (Nicholls, 1995: 29). Similarly, within the framework of the Theatre Village and China Town Development Strategy, Pink Lane was pedestrianised; an attractive pedestrian route leading to Blackfriar Monastery was constructed (Tavsanoglu, 1996: 267-280;

Figure 5.14. The riverside promenade of the Quayside (Source: Hoy, 1999)

The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992). In addition, a continental-style boulevard, St James' Boulevard, was built from the Redheugh Bridge to Percy Street, via Blenheim Street and Gallowgate (Winter, et. al., 1989: 193).

The strategy to improve the public realm and to develop high-quality public spaces embellished with artworks in the city centre has also been in the agenda of the GT Project. Within the framework of the Project, the area around Grey's Monument, Grainger Street and the front part of The Theatre Royal were pedestrianised. The pedestrianisation scheme was also carried out in the northern end of the city centre. As a part of the scheme, Northumberland Street was pedestrianised in 1998, and a new public realm has recently been developed next to Haymarket Metro Station (Figure 5.15). Another important public realm project at the northern part of the city centre is the redevelopment of the Haymarket Bus Station in conjunction with retailing and leisure facilities. The Blue Carpet Square, a unique public square in New Bridge Street West, is another striking public space scheme which was recently developed at the eastern part of the city centre.

Figure 5.15. Northumberland Street after its pedestrianisation (Source: Newcastle City Council, no date)

As well as the new public realm schemes in the city centre, the City Council has sought to increase the attraction of the public realm in the city centre by promoting the development of a café culture (Newcastle City Council, 2000: 28). As an extension of this policy, a number of street cafés have been opened in the city centre. In addition, the local authority has started to pay particular attention to the maintenance of the streets. Consequently, street cleaning, graffiti and chewing gum removal, the 'greening' of key streets (Percy Street, Northumberland Street, Northumberland Road, Saville Row and St Mary's Place) have all become major strategies of the City Council to improve the quality of the public realm in the city centre of Newcastle (Newcastle City Council, 2000: 28).

5.5 Conclusion

Newcastle was one of the most highly-industrialised British cities which has experienced a transition from being an industrial city into a post-industrial city. Its history as an industrial city started with the Industrial Revolution. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the coal, glass, iron,

ship and chemical-based industries which developed in the city and the construction of many engineering works turned Newcastle into a rising industrial and port city; and consequently, drastically increased the economic prosperity and vitality of the city. As the city's economy grew, the population of Newcastle increased steadily, and the city grew toward the east and north of the riverside. During these years, the riverside turned into the industrial and commercial heart of the city, while the city centre moved to the north of the riverside and became the business, retailing, financial and leisure centre of Newcastle.

The prosperity and wealth of the 18th and 19th centuries decreased in the early 20th century due to the transfer of some industries from the city to the River Tees, the decline in the production of iron, steel and chemicals; the orders for ships, big machines, and coals; and the 1930s economic crisis. Yet, the economic recession of the early 20th century ended in the 1950s. The years after the Second World War brought a significant economic revival to Newcastle. The 1950s and 1960s represent the years of radical changes in both the city's economy and its urbanscape. On the one hand, the number of jobs in the service sector significantly increased, and new industries, particularly lighter industries, came to Tyneside and Newcastle. On the other hand, the city centre experienced a great deal of demolition followed by large-scale, high-profile and comprehensive redevelopment.

The prosperous years of the 1950s and 1960s ended with the economic crisis of the 1970s. The decline of the three heavy industries of coal mining, shipbuilding and heavy engineering devastated the economy of Newcastle. It brought about a drastic increase in the unemployment figures and the rate of population loss. The economic recession of the 1970s was accompanied by social and urban decline in the old industrial and residential areas of the city, as well as the city centre. In the 1980s, Newcastle contained vast derelict and underused tracts of land along the riverside, increasingly deteriorating housing areas which mainly accommodated a working class population and which suffered from high unemployment rates, population loss, high crime rates, and a lower standard of education and health service provision. The city centre, also badly hit by the economic recession, had similar problems. While the Quayside and its surrounding area were covered by derelict sites, Grainger Town suffered from high rates of unemployment, the deterioration of its urban fabric, the loss of its living and working population, vacant and under-used properties, traffic congestion, limited provision of car parking, a lack of green open spaces, poor quality public realm and a lack of investment.

The mid-1980s marks the turning point for Newcastle. The city started to experience a transformation; it stripped off its old identity as an industrial city and began to show the

characteristics of a post-industrial city. Starting from the mid-1980s, the city's economy has become more dependent on the service sector, lighter manufacturing sector, and branch plants of national and international companies, while its dependence on the manufacturing sector (particularly heavy industries) has continuously decreased. City-marketing and image-building campaigns have played significant roles in the transformation of Newcastle from an industrial city to a post-industrial city. They have aimed at neutralising unfavourable images of the city, creating new images and reinforcing existing positive images of the city, in order to attract inward investment, labour, tourists and affluent groups to the city. They have underlined the distinctive social, cultural and historical characteristics of Newcastle and the advantages of living and working in this city, particularly compared to other cities.

As well as city-marketing and re-imaging campaigns, urban regeneration projects which were launched throughout the 1980s and 1990s have also contributed to the transformation of Newcastle from an industrial city into a post-industrial city. They have significantly changed the look of the city, particularly that of the city centre and its periphery. These fragmented, self-sufficient and self-referential developments, which were based on property, image and culture-led regeneration strategies have created consumption-oriented, highly speculative and commercial and prestigious environments, which have mainly targeted affluent groups and tourists, rather than all segments of the city's population. With their attractive and exclusive looks, they have become powerful marketing tools to help Newcastle to reposition itself and to find new niches in competitive urban markets.

As well as all these developments, starting from the late 1980s, a number of attractive public spaces, embellished with artworks, have been developed in the city centre of Newcastle. In the 1990s, the emphasis on the significance of the attractive public realm of the city centre has increased. The City Council has promoted the development of a café society and has encouraged the opening of street cafés in the city centre. In addition, the local authority has started to pay particular attention to the maintenance of the public spaces by the mechanisation of street cleaning, the removal of graffiti and chewing gum, and the greening of main streets in the city centre.

The recent increasing interest and investment in public spaces is a positive improvement for them and the urban fabric of the city centre which faced serious decline in the 1970s. Nevertheless, the development of the new public spaces in the city centre raises important questions about their 'publicness'. How far are these public spaces 'public'? The next three chapters seek to find an

answer to the question of the 'publicness' of the new public spaces by examining two public realms which were developed in the city centre of Newcastle in the 1990s.

Chapter 6: The 'publicness' of the Haymarket Bus Station

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the 'publicness' of the development and use processes of the Haymarket Bus Station (HBS) which represents one of the major public space improvement schemes of the 1990s in Newcastle. The scheme, which made a drastic improvement in the bus station and its surroundings, is the outcome of the regeneration and revitalisation of the northern edge of the retailing core of Newcastle. The analysis of the 'publicness' of the recent development scheme of the HBS starts with the description of the location, the history, as well as the physical, psychological, social, political, economic and symbolic roles, and problems of the HBS before the redevelopment scheme began. This is followed by the analysis of the 'publicness' of the recent development scheme which is examined under four stages: i) planning and design, ii) construction, iii) management and maintenance, and iv) use through the criteria 'access', 'actors' and 'interest'. The third section concludes the findings of the analysis of the 'publicness' of the Haymarket public space development scheme.

6.2 The HBS before the recent redevelopment

6.2.1 The location of the HBS

The HBS, which is one of the major and busiest public spaces of the city centre, is located at the north of the city centre; more specifically, at the northern edge of the retailing core of the city centre (Figure 6.1). The bus station, situated on Percy Street, is adjacent to Haymarket Metro Station, the South African War Memorial, and St. Thomas Church, and the Civic Centre to the north (Figure 6.1). It is the neighbour of the University of Newcastle to the north, Leazes Conservation Area (a residential area accommodating listed buildings) to the north-west, a multi-storey car-park on Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street surrounded by Eldon Square Shopping Centre and the bus concourse to the south, and Northumberland Street, the prime retailing street, to the east (Figures 6.1 and 6.4).

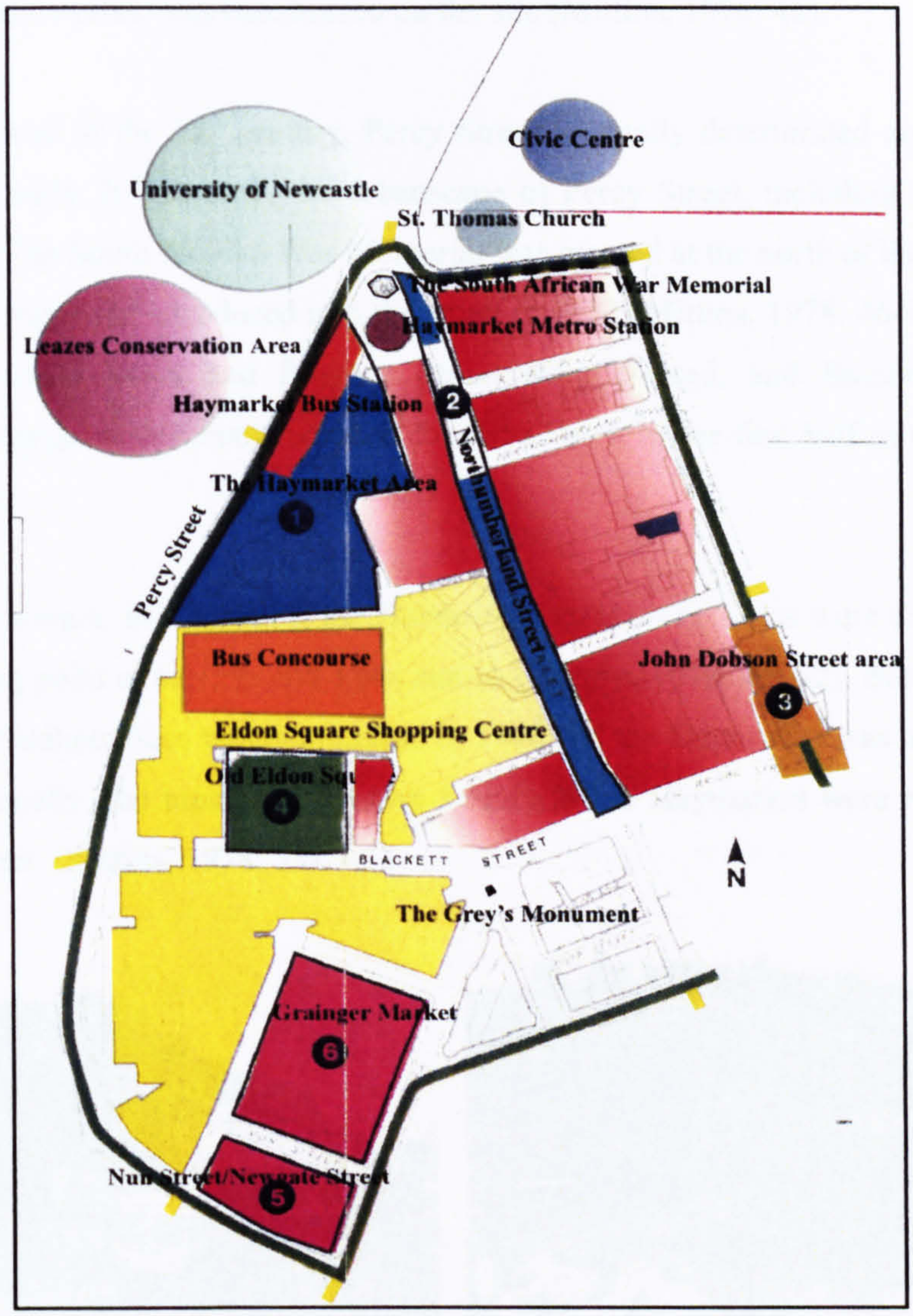

Figure 6.1. The north part of the city centre and the location of the HBS (Source: The base map is the Map7.1 from the 1994 Unitary Development Plan (Newcastle City Council, 1994b))

6.2.2 Brief history of the Haymarket and the HBS

The Haymarket dates from the 19th century. In 1808, the site was paved over and started to function as a parade ground (Mittins, 1978: 27). With the rise of Percy Street as a commercial street in the 19th century, the Haymarket turned into a market place where hay and straw were sold; and agricultural servants were hired (Collard, 1971: 53; Mittins, 1978: 40; Grundy, et. al., 1992: 494; Simpson, et. al., 1997: 14). As well as being a market place, the Haymarket was the place where fairs, travelling circuses, wandering menageries, and political gatherings were held (Mittins, 1978: 46). By 1895, a row of houses was built on the Haymarket (Mittins, 1978: 46;

Harbottle, 1990: 4). Additionally, a public house, which was called 'The Farmers' Rest' and run by the Newcastle Breweries, was constructed on the site (Mittins, 1978: 46).

Starting from the end of the 19th century, Percy Street gradually deteriorated and turned into a slum area. In the early 20th century, the urbanscape of Percy Street, including the Haymarket, started to change. The South African War Memorial was erected at the north of the street in 1908; and a single deck tram was introduced into the street in 1923 (Mittins, 1978: 46-47). In addition, the slums in Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street were cleared, and Bainbridge Hall and Employment Exchange were reconstructed in Prudhoe Street in the first half of the 20th century (Mittins, 1978: 53)

Following these changes, in the 1930s, the Haymarket's traditional roles were abandoned and it became a departing point of carriers and a bus station (Mittins, 1978: 46, 52). Because of the new roles of the site, Prudhoe Place was demolished in 1948 and the Haymarket was later extended to the south. Additionally, the nineteenth-century houses in the Haymarket were reconstructed as 'Haymarket Houses' (Mittins, 1978: 53).

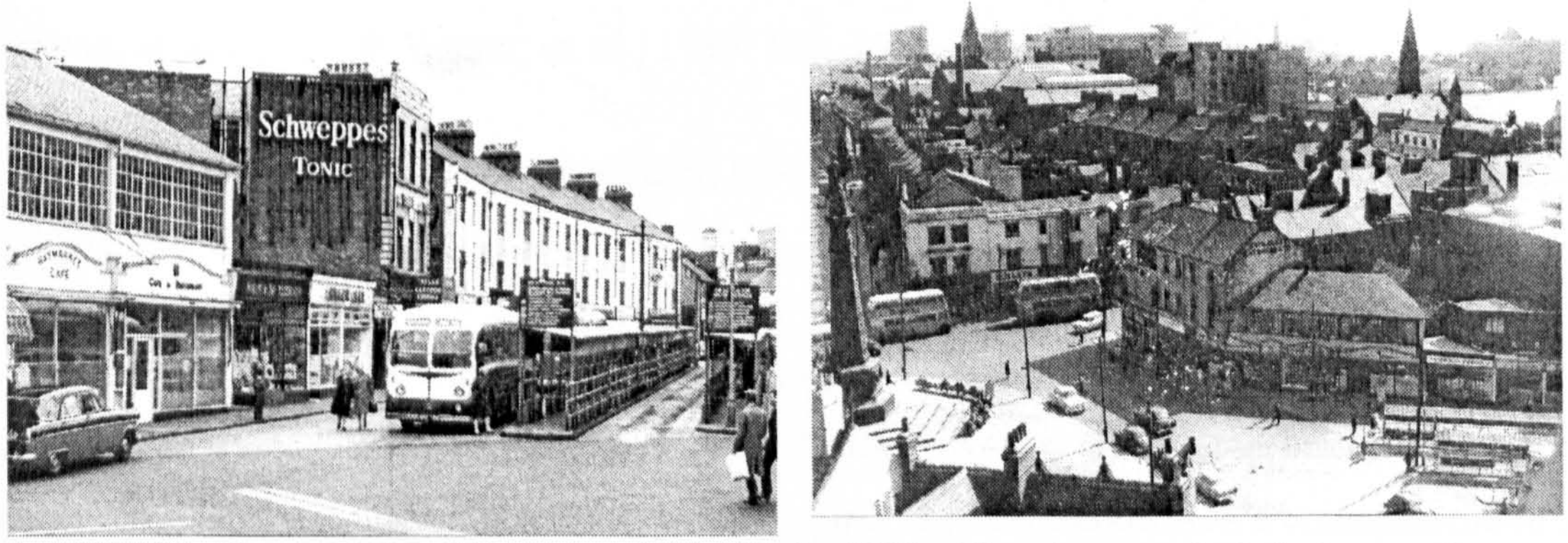

Figure 6.2. The Haymarket and its surroundings in the 1960s. The photo on the left shows a three-storey building block facing the bus station; while the one on the right shows the north of the HBS including the South African War Memorial and the north of Northumberland Street (Source: Newcastle upon Tyne City Libraries & Arts, 1984: 10)

In the 1960s and 1970s, the urbanscape of Percy Street changed once more with the passionate city centre plan of T. Dan Smith and Wilfred Burns. With the construction of the Central Motorway East between 1963 and 1975, Percy Street was widened and realigned (Newcastle upon Tyne City Council, 1963: 23; Mittins, 1978: 55; Simpson, et. al., 1997: 22). Additionally, the street frontage of Percy Street was pulled down in order to give way to Eldon Square Shopping Centre and the bus concourse (Simpson, et. al., 1997: 7; Mittins, 1978: 55). While the urbanscape of Percy Street changed, 'Haymarket Houses' were knocked down and the three-storey building block in the Haymarket, and a row of single-storey shops on the south of Prudhoe Place was erected in the early 1970s (Harbottle, 1990: 4).

Figure 6.3. The Haymarket and Percy Street facing the South African War Memorial, St. Thomas Church and Civic Centre in the 1960s (Source: Bean, 1971: 178)

Since the late-1970s, the Haymarket and its environs have not changed much. The only major changes are the construction of Haymarket Metro Station to the north of the bus station in 1980 and the erection of a multi-storey car-park to the south of the bus station in the mid-1990s (Simpson, et. al., 1997: 8; Winter, et. al., 1989: 183, 185).

6.2.3 The physical, psychological, social, political, economic and symbolic roles

The Haymarket was a distorted triangular-shaped space, functioning as a forum for a variety of activities. First of all, accommodating the bus station, two taxi ranks, and being very close to Haymarket Metro Station and a multi-storey car park, the Haymarket was a communication and transportation node of the city. It was the place where people gathered and dispersed. The bus station, which faced Percy Street, comprised nine bays (The Officer of Legal Services Department of the NCC, 2000[1]). Buses used to access the bus station from Percy Street at the southern end, and leave the station from the northern end of the Haymarket (The Commercial Director of ARRIVA, 2000[2]). The passenger waiting area and the canopy of the bus station were situated on Percy Street, while buses nosed into the passenger waiting area, and pointed their exhausts to the shops behind the bus station. In the passenger waiting area, there was a kiosk for ticket sales of the bus company Northumbria Motor Services, as well as an allocated site for a street trader.

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[1] From here on, The Officer of the Legal Services Department of the NCC will be referred to as 'Officer of Legal Services'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

[2] From here on, The Commercial Director of ARRIVA will be referred to as ARRIVA; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

Behind the bus station, there was a taxi rank. It was situated in front of the retail shops and the public house (Officer of Legal Services). This was a private hire taxi company (Officer of Legal Services). The other taxi rank, which was located at the junction of Prudhoe Place and Percy Street, in front of the multi-storey car park, was mainly operated by hackney carriages (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 18; Officer of Legal Services).

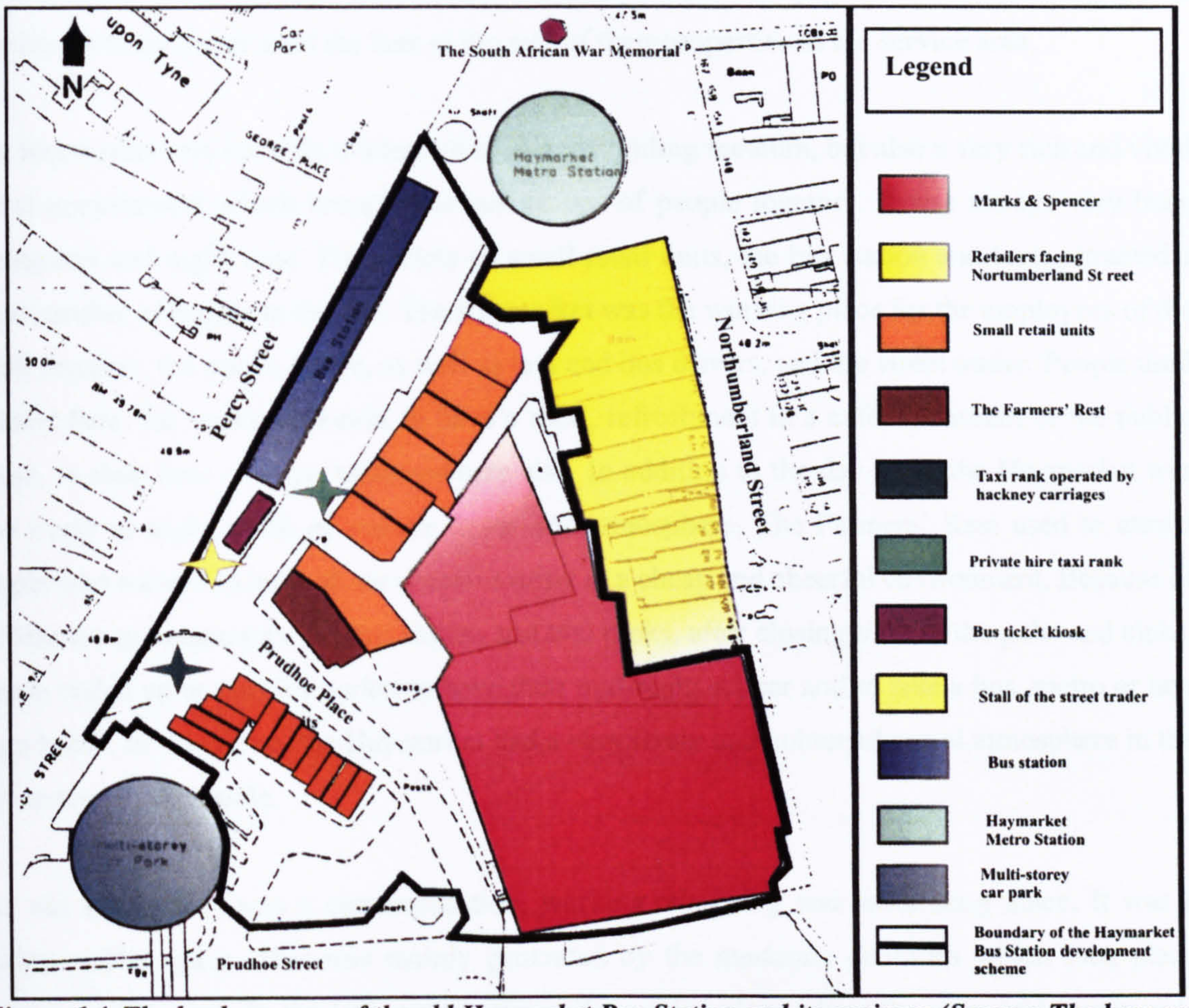

Figure 6.4. The land-use map of the old Haymarket Bus Station and its environs (Source: The base map is from the Archive of the NCC (Newcastle City Council, 1994e))

The Haymarket also accommodated commercial functions. As mentioned earlier, there was a three-storey building, which was situated behind the bus station and accommodated small retail units, ranging from take-away restaurants, cafés and bakery shops to jewellery, costume-hire, sport-wear, dance-costume shops and a betting office (Figure 6.4). 'The Farmers' Rest' public house was beside these retail units, and the neighbour of the former Ginger Beer Works (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 17). To the south of the bus station and the public house, there was a row of single-storey buildings on Prudhoe Place, housing small retail units, which included

an antique shop, a florist, two souvenir shops (one of which was the shop of Newcastle United Football Club), and a ladies-wear shop (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 17) (Figure 6.4).

The Haymarket was mainly occupied by the small retail units; yet surrounded by the big high street retailers of Newcastle. Marks & Spencer (M&S) was one of these retailers, whose store used to face Northumberland Street, while its service yard was situated at the opposite to the rear of the retail units on the Haymarket. Similarly, other shops whose entrances were in Northumberland Street used the lane at the rear of their properties as the service area.

The Haymarket was not only a transportation and retailing medium, but also a very rich and vivid social environment which brought various groups of people together. It was always very busy during day and night time. The variety of small retail units, the bus station and taxis attracted a large number of people to the site. The Haymarket was the working place for the employees of the small retailers, the public house, as well as taxi and bus drivers, and the street trader. People used to meet here, for various reasons, to have a meal, refreshment in a café, restaurant or the public house, to shop here or to go to somewhere else. In addition to the day-time, the Haymarket was also lively at night. With an austere décor and atmosphere, The Farmers' Rest used to attract people who wanted to have an inexpensive drink in a cheap and cheerful environment. Because of the take-away restaurants, the bus station and taxi ranks, after closing time in the pubs and clubs, people ended up in the Haymarket to have their mid-night supper and to take a bus, metro or taxi to go home. In this sense, the Haymarket had a very lively and colourful social atmosphere in the city centre of Newcastle.

The old Haymarket was a communication, working, shopping and socialising place. It was a modest public space. This was mainly generated by the moderate activities which took place throughout the years. In the 19th century, it was the market place where the town and countryside met. By the time the farmers who used to collectively come and sell their products at the Haymarket and have a drink in The Farmers' Rest, left their place to the small retailers, people who departed or ended their journey there, shopped, worked, and socialised. The appearance and architectural features of the HBS and its environs genuinely reflected this modesty. The Haymarket was, therefore, a part of the modest local tradition.

The Haymarket was no longer famous for political gatherings and activities, as it used to be in the past. Yet, it was an environment which was open to everyone and all activities. Hence, it used to accommodate a high degree of spontaneous and informal activities and free actions. Further, the

Haymarket was the place for the creation of surprises[3] for various reasons, ranging from the traffic to the informal activities which used to occur there, such as drinking alcoholic beverages outside the public house, eating late-night meals on the street, chatting and shouting to strangers and so on. On the other hand, it provided people with a place for relaxation, since they used to find an opportunity in the Haymarket to relieve the stress of their daily lives, by shouting to and chatting with strangers, and showing the kind of informal behaviour that would not have been possible in a formal environment.

Briefly put, the HBS and its surroundings were lively and colourful environments, busy with people throughout the day and night. HBS was not only a significant transportation node, but also a working, shopping and socialising environment in the city. It had its own modest history and tradition. It was not a political gathering place, but it was a place to surprise and to be surprised, and an environment for surprise and relaxation.

6.2.4 The problems of the old Haymarket and the bus station

As well as the merits of the old Haymarket Bus Station and its surroundings, there were a number of problems. The Haymarket did not have a charming appearance. The old and modest-looking shops in the Haymarket, the dirty and ugly appearance of the rear of the buildings facing Northumberland Street and the rather chaotic, disorganised, crowded and filthy public space did not create an appealing environment. There were a few vacant premises which used to give the impression of a run-down place. The owners of these premises, particularly the Newcastle City Council (NCC) and Slough Estates (i.e., a property development/investment company), were not very happy with the loss of revenue from these vacant premises.

In addition to its appearance, the Haymarket and the bus station was poor in terms of urban environment quality. As the Manager of Old Orleans (2000) mentioned, the old bus station was falling down. It did not work efficiently (The Manager of Eldon Square Shopping Centre, 2000[4]; The Planning Officer of NEXUS, 2000[5]). The bus operation area and passenger waiting area were very small. Despite the big number of buses and bus passengers using the bus station, there were not enough bays for the efficient operation of the bus services. The passenger waiting area was

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[3] The definition of Haymarket as the place of surprise aims at setting a relation with Lynch's description of public space as the place of 'shocking stimulus' which is one of the psychological roles of public spaces. See also Chapter 2.

[4] From here on, The Manager of Eldon Square Shopping Centre will be referred to as 'Eldon Square Shopping Centre Management'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

[5] From here on, The Planning Officer of NEXUS will be referred to as 'NEXUS'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

always crowded; indeed, in the peak hours especially, it was incredibly packed with people. Thus, the small bus station caused a great deal of inconvenience for bus passengers and bus companies operating in the Haymarket.

The old bus station was not only small, but also did not provide shelter. The canopy of the bus station, a so-called 'butterfly canopy', provided the bus passengers with only a roof; yet, it did not protect bus passengers from the effects of wind, rain and snow (The Ex-planning Chief of the NCC, 2000[6]; The Objector). Moreover, the old bus station was poor in terms of its physical accessibility. First of all, it was not a pedestrian-friendly environment. The layout of the old bus station created a lot of conflict between buses and pedestrians within the Haymarket (The Representative of Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners, 2000[7]). The majority of bus passengers had to come to the passenger waiting area behind the buses which nosed into the passenger waiting area. After a number of accidents on the site, it was understood that the layout of the bus station created a dangerous environment for the bus passengers and pedestrians (Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners; Ex-planning Chief). In addition, because there was no railing around the bus station, the bus passengers, who were trying to catch their buses, used to cross Percy Street without going to the pedestrian-crossing points (Ex-planning Chief; Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners). This also created a high risk of traffic accidents occuring. Furthermore, the bus station was not a healthy environment for bus passengers, since they had to pass through the fumes of the buses in order to get to the bus passenger waiting area (Ex-planning Chief).

Figure 6.5. The old Haymarket Bus Station in 1995 just before the recent development scheme took place (Source: The Newcastle upon Tyne City Libraries & Arts, 2000)

As well as the conflicts between buses and pedestrians, the bus station also caused a remarkable traffic congestion in and around the Haymarket (The Objector, The Officer of the Highway and

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[6] From here on, The Ex-planning Chief of the NCC will be referred to as 'Ex-planning Chief'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

[7] From here on, The Representative of Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners will be referred to as 'Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

Transportation Department of the NCC, 2000a[8]). First of all, buses and taxis, which used to operate very close to each other, caused traffic congestion within the Haymarket (HAT Officer). Particularly the taxi rank in Prudhoe Place which was an untidy and disordered place due to the taxis that used to park all over the place, created confusion and traffic disruption in the area (Ex-planning Chief). Second, buses, which turned into and out of the Haymarket, brought about a significant disruption in the routine traffic flow and created congestion on Percy Street (The Objector).

Another important problem of the bus station was its poor connection with some major facilities, such as Haymarket Metro Station, the taxi rank, the car-parking facilities and Eldon Square Shopping Centre. Additionally, despite the lively social atmosphere at night, the HBS and its surroundings used to be very dirty and unpleasant due to the large number of users of the site, but particularly because of the litter of the night-time users (Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners).

Briefly put, with the unattractive appearance of the private space due to the moderate small retail units and vacant premises, and the chaotic, disorganised, crowded and filthy public space, the Haymarket increasingly looked like a run-down part of the city centre. The HBS, which was poor in environmental quality, physical accessibility and integration with the primary activities surrounding it, did not function efficiently and safety for bus passengers, bus companies or the management authority of the bus station. The defects of the Haymarket initiated its redevelopment in the early 1980s.

6.3 The redevelopment of the HBS

6.3.1 Planning and design process

6.3.1.1 The 1994 Unitary Development Plan and the 1985 City Centre Local Plan

As one of the closest spots to the high street of Newcastle, which has sought to promote its image as the 'regional capital', the 'city of transport and communication', and the 'service city', the local authority considered the HBS and its surroundings as the eyesore of the northern part of the city centre. From the early 1980s, the NCC was anxious to redevelop the Haymarket and the bus station, especially by attracting inward investment to the site. This target found its legislative basis in the 1994 Unitary Development Plan and the 1985 City Centre Local Plan, which encouraged new retail developments in the city centre of Newcastle in order to: a) maintain and

[8] From here on, The Officer of the Highway and Transportation Department of the NCC will be referred to as 'HAT Officer'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

enhance the vitality and viability of the city centre, and b) maintain its position as the principal shopping location in the north-east of England[1] (Newcastle City Council, 1985: 17-18; Newcastle City Council, 1994b: 40, 43). Focusing on the northern part of the main shopping area, the 1985 City Centre Local Plan favoured the new retail developments on condition that they: "i) are vital to maintain Newcastle's role as a Regional Shopping Centre; or ii) will not be materially detrimental to the strategy for the regeneration of the southern shopping area" (Newcastle City Council, 1985: 17-18). Within this framework, the policy R7.22 recognised the HBS and its surroundings as a potential site for a new development; and the policy R2.2 proposed a new retail development at the Haymarket (Newcastle City Council, 1994b: 43, 125-126).

Behind the policies R7.22 and R2.2 which proposed a new retail development at the Haymarket, it is possible to note the understanding of the local authority to see the Haymarket as an economic value generator. The policies in the 1994 Unitary Development Plan did not aim only at changing the run-down scenery of the Haymarket, but also creating a good-looking environment which would increase the land values around the Haymarket, attract further new investments to the site and bring back the economic vitality around the Haymarket. For this reason, there were detailed design policies in the 1994 Unitary Development Plan which manifested remarkable consideration for the look of the new retail development. Particularly the policies R1.1, R2.1, R2.2 and ENV1.1 (Newcastle City Council, 1994b: 40, 43, 56) suggested that the new developments (which also comprised a new development at the Haymarket) should:

- be integrated into its setting with regard to the scale, pattern, materials and design characteristics of surrounding buildings and space;
- be linked to the pedestrian route network, as well as Eldon Square Shopping Centre and public transport facilities, such as the HBS, Haymarket Metro Station, taxi ranks and car park services;
- be a safe and pedestrian-friendly environment;
- be designed for all users regardless of age or disabilities to access it equally;
- provide the streetscape of a primary shopping centre;
- increase the range and quality of floor space in the city centre;
- be designed in order to minimise opportunities for crime;
- be adaptable to be used for other purposes;
- be incorporated into hard and soft landscaping as an integral part of the design;
- maximise tree planting where appropriate; and
- provide for its long-term maintenance.

[1] The policies R1.1 and R2.1 are the policies which are referred above (Newcastle City Council, 1994b: 40, 43).

Here, the sensitivity of the local authority should be noted on the architectural characteristics of the retail development and its environs, its connection with other major facilities, physical accessibility, safety and maintenance. However, the promotion of the Haymarket as a place for private retail development (rather than a place for a public space, such as a new bus station) indicates the tendency of the local authority to commodify, commercialise and privatise the Haymarket to some extent. The attempt of the NCC to partly privatise the provision of the bus station can be seen through the policies T1.4 and T5.27, which explicitly claimed that the improvement scheme of the HBS should be carried out through a public-private partnership (Newcastle City Council, 1994b: 124-125). The policy 5.27 shows the intention of the local authority to commodify the site where the old bus station stood, by stating that "The existing Haymarket Bus Station occupies an attractive development site and any prospective development must make full and proper provision, in close proximity to Haymarket, for bus terminus facilities" (Newcastle City Council, 1994b: 125). That is, according to the policy 5.27, the site of the old HBS can be allocated for a retail development on condition that the private developer provides a new bus station in close proximity to the old one. By seeing the public space's economic value which can be used as an exchange element for the provision of a new bus station, the policy 5.27 shows the recognition of the old HBS as a commodity. The same intention can also be noted through the policy R2.2 which proposed the new bus station to be retained either on the existing site, or nearby (Newcastle City Council, 1994b: 43). Here, it is possible to see that the local authority sought to find an alternative location for the development of the new bus station and thus to ease the development of the private property development at the Haymarket. The policy 5.27 also shows the local authority's intention to commercialise the site of the old bus station. By promoting it as a potential site for a retail development, the local authority attempted to turn the site into a commercial entity which would provide profit. Hence, the 1994 Unitary Development Plan provided the legislative basis for the privatisation, commodification and commercialisation of the HBS to some extent.

Nevertheless, the policy R2.2 also shows the effort of the local authority to develop a better bus station within or around the Haymarket. The policies R2.2 and T1.4 suggested the improvement of the new bus station as a safe, convenient and attractive environment for users, particularly vulnerable groups including women, elderly and disabled people (Newcastle City Council, 1994b: 43, 124). The policy T5.21 defined the improvement works of the bus station as the improvement of the terminus facilities (for example lifts, escalators, seats, toilets, baby changing facilities, lighting and ventilation) and the provision of a bus shelter (Newcastle City Council, 1994b: 124). Thus, the development of the good-looking, better-operating and safe public space was also one of the major concerns of the local authority. Behind this concern, there was the policy of the local

authority to improve the public transport services, and to reduce the use of private cars within the city centre. Another reason for this concern of the local authority was the recognition of the importance of good public transportation services and facilities for Newcastle as a city which promotes itself as the 'transportation and communication city', the 'regional capital', and the 'service city' in order to attract people and investors to the city. In addition, the local authority was aware of the importance of the Haymarket as a public space. They knew that the redevelopment of the Haymarket as a good-looking, attractive, safe and well-maintained public space would attract investment into the areas surrounding the Haymarket, and thus contribute to the regeneration and revitalisation of the northern end of the city centre and change the image of both the city centre and the city.

At the beginning of the development process, within the context of the city centre regeneration and revitalisation driven by the city-marketing and re-imaging policies, the macro-scale planning policies encouraged the commodification of the public space at the Haymarket to some extent, by using it as an exchange element for the provision of a new bus station. Additionally, based on the property-led regeneration strategies which sought the private sector partnership in order to produce a new public space, the macro-scale policies promoted the privatisation of the provision of the bus station at the Haymarket to some degree. Further, by opening up the site of the old HBS to a retail development, the macro-scale policies have encouraged the commercialisation of the public space. These aspects of the planning policies blurred the public-private distinction of the space and decreased the 'publicness' of the HBS. However, the attempt by the local authority to develop the bus station as a safe, convenient and attractive environment, which was a more accessible for everybody (especially for the vulnerable groups), increased the 'publicness' of the Haymarket. In addition, the sensitivity of the local authority towards retail development in terms of producing a safe, attractive, pedestrian-friendly, physically accessible space, increased the 'publicness' of the HBS and its environs.

6.3.1.2 The initial attempt to redevelop the HBS and its environs

The HBS was intended to be redeveloped three times in the 1980s; yet, none of these attempts ended up with a new development (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 16). In the early 1990s, M&S, a big high-street retailer, which owned the land where their store and service yard were located, bought the three-storey building on the Haymarket from Slough Estate and became one of the main property owners of the site (Officer of Legal Services; Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 16). With the idea of extending their store into the Haymarket in order to turn it into their biggest store in Britain outside London, they approached two other major property owners of the site; i.e. The Scottish & Newcastle Breweries (S&N Breweries) which owned 'The Farmers' Rest' public

house and the former Ginger Beer Works, and the NCC which owned the temporary shops on Prudhoe Place and Percy Street, as well as the highways on the site, including the bus station (Young, 1994: 46; Newcastle City Council, 1994c; Officer of Legal Services) (Figure 6.6). M&S offered S&N Breweries a new public house on the site, and offered the City Council the redevelopment of the site including the bus station at no cost to the planning authority (Newcastle City Council, 1994a; The Representative of S&N Breweries, 2000[2]).

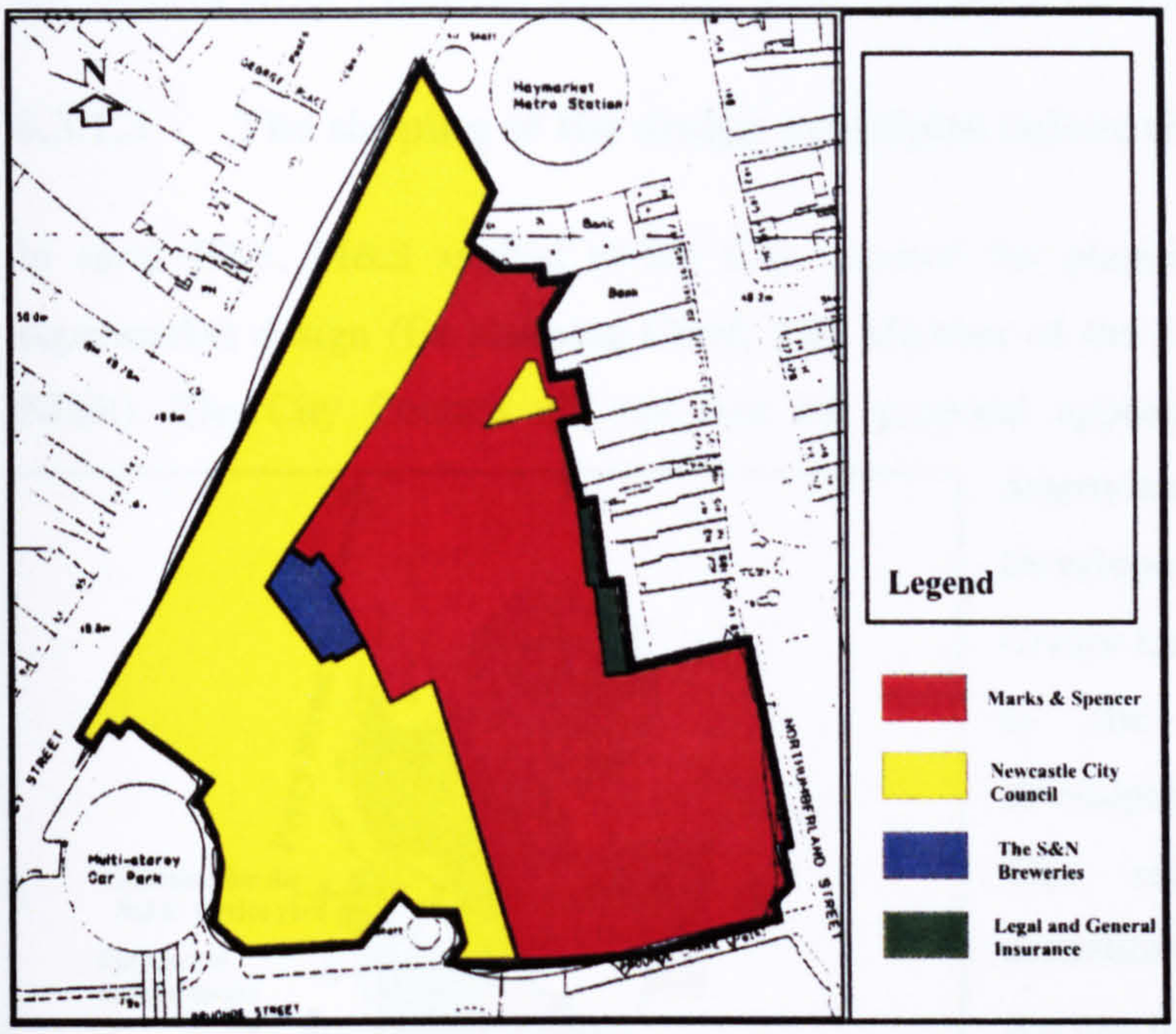

Figure 6.6. The map showing the property owners and the property ownership boundaries at the Haymarket (Source: NJSR Chartered Architects, 1994)

The Farmers' Rest was situated literally in the middle of the redevelopment site and had a very valuable licence worth £3.5 million (S&N Breweries). The owner of the public house, S&N Breweries, were anxious to change the image of The Farmers' Rest, which was broadly known as 'rough', and 'male-dominated', and associated with drugs (Ex-planning Chief; S&N Breweries; Taxi driver III; Pedestrian IV, 2002). S&N Breweries found the M&S' offer a good opportunity to change the unfavourable image of The Farmers' Rest and to acquire a brand-new up-market public house (Ex-planning Chief). Therefore, they accepted the offer (Ex-planning Chief). Similarly, the City Council, which had lost revenue from their vacant premises on the Haymarket, wanted to attract private sector investment to the Haymarket and to improve the HBS through the public-private partnership, also found the M&S' proposal very attractive, and accepted it (Ex-planning Chief).

Following the initial negotiation between the three major shareholders in the Haymarket, M&S bought the share of Legal and General Insurance, which owned the lane at the rear of the Northumberland Street premises, and negotiated for the private hire taxi company to move from the site by giving compensation (Officer of Legal Services). Additionally, they hired an architect company from Southport, namely NJSR Chartered Architects, to carry out the design of the site,

[2] From here on, The Representative of S&N Breweries will be referred to as 'S&N Breweries'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

and Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners to undertake the planning consultancy of the scheme (The Architect of NJSR Chartered Architects, 2000[3]; Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners).

6.3.1.3 The shaping of the design principles before the public consultation

In early 1993, M&S applied to the City Council for planning permission with a prototype supermarket design (Ex-planning Chief; The Member of the Design Team of the NCC, 2000[4]; NJSR). The City Council did not find the proposal appropriate to the planning principles determined by the 1994 Unitary Development Plan and the 1985 City Centre Local Plan, and rejected it. This led to the production of the second development scheme of the Haymarket. The second scheme proposed the demolition of all premises in the site and the erection of a two-storey building as an extension to the M&S store with a service yard and customer-collection facilities, three kiosks, a public house and restaurant, a bus station with glazed canopy, the realignment of Prudhoe Place in association with the bus station and with access to Prudhoe Chare, the relocation of the taxi rank in Prudhoe Place, and the landscaping and change of use of the rear service lanes to form a barrier controlled access to the service yard (Newcastle City Council, 1994d) (Figure 6.7).

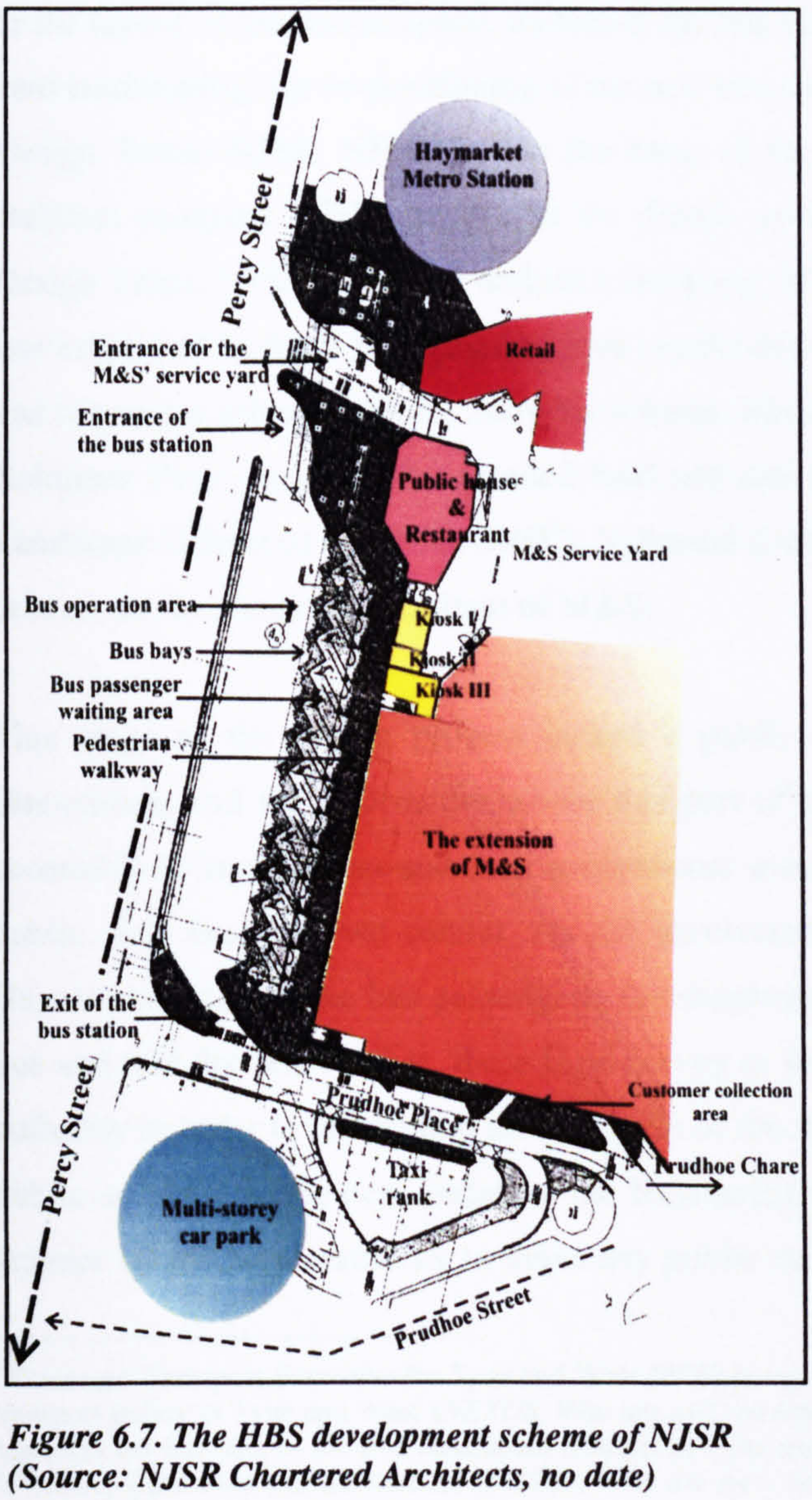

Figure 6.7. The HBS development scheme of NJSR (Source: NJSR Chartered Architects, no date)

The planning and design process of the second scheme was open mainly to a small group of actors which constituted M&S,

[3] From here on, The Architect of NJSR Chartered Architects will be referred to as 'Ex-planning Chief'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

[4] From here on, The Member of the Design Team of the NCC will be referred to as 'NJSR'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time the interviewee is referred to.

S&N Breweries, the local authority, the Passenger Transport Executive for Tyne and Wear[5] (PTE) and the bus companies Northumbria Motor Services and Stagecoach) and the professional assistant teams of the key players (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; NJSR; NEXUS). M&S, S&N Breweries and the local authority were the key actors in the planning and design process of the retail development (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; NJSR). However, M&S, the local authority, PTE, the bus companies Northumbria Motor Services[6] and Stagecoach, and Northern Owner Drivers Association (NODA)[7] were the major actors which took part in the design process of the layout of the public space, including the bus station, surrounding highway works, soft and hard landscaping, the re-positioning of the new taxi rank and the street trader (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; NJSR; NEXUS). On the basis of the main planning and design principles, the architect company NJSR carried out the design work of the HBS scheme (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; NJSR). Another architect company, Messrs Nicholson Design Partnership, which was employed by S&N Breweries, carried out the detailed design of the Old Orleans public house and restaurant scheme (NJSR; S&N Breweries). Besides, a landscape designer company, namely Robinson Penn, prepared the detailed hard and soft-landscape design of the HBS scheme (The Landscape Officer of the NCC, 2000[8]). Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners was involved in the design process as the planning consultant of M&S.

This stage of the design process lacked a public voice. In other words, the activities and discussions, and the information about this part of the planning and design process were only accessible to some actors and their professional assistant teams, rather than all segments of the public. For example, we cannot see the involvement of the primary and daily users of the Haymarket, such as the bus passengers, the shopkeepers, their employees and customers, or the bus and taxi drivers. Further, there is no survey or interview which was undertaken by the local authority in order to understand the problems of the main users of the Haymarket and include the public opinions in the new design of the Haymarket (NJSR; ARRIVA). Moreover, there was no attempt by the local authority to make any public meetings with the primary users of the site in

[5] Passenger Transport Executive for Tyne and Wear (PTE) is a public body which is responsible for formulating public transport policy in Tyne and Wear (*NEXUS, Who are we?*, no date: 1). It constitutes fifteen local councillors chosen to represent the interests of the five constituent districts of Tyne and Wear, which are Newcastle, North Tyneside, South Tyneside, Gateshead and Sunderland (*NEXUS, Who are we?*, no date: 1). It is funded by these five district councils (*NEXUS, Who are we?*, no date: 1).

[6] The bus company 'Northumbria Motor Services' changed the name of the company and is now called ARRIVA (The Planning Officer of NEXUS, 2000).

[7] Northern Owner Drivers Association (NODA) is a private body; i.e., an association made up of the individuals who own their own taxis, more specifically hackney carriages. They do not represent private taxi companies (The Officer of the Legal Services, NCC, 2000).

[8] From here on, The Landscape Officer of the Newcastle City Council will be referred to as 'Landscape Officer'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

order to express and exchange ideas about the new design of the HBS with the public. It is possible to argue, therefore, that the activities and discussions of, and the information about the initial part of the design process were not accessible to all. Being only open to certain actors, this part of the design process undermines the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the HBS development scheme.

The design principles of the HBS development scheme were shaped through long discussions among public and private actors (Table 6.1). The NCC as the local planning authority and the major landowners of the site and PTE as the operator of the bus station constituted the public side of the scheme. M&S as the main land owner and developer of the site, and large business interest, S&N Breweries and Northumbria Motor Services as the landowners with small but valuable shares and the representatives of the large business interest, Stagecoach and NODA as other business interests in the site, NJSR, Robinson Penn, Messrs Nicholson Design Partnership, as the designers of the scheme, and Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners as the planning consultant of the developer formed the private side of the public space improvement scheme. The provision of the design of the public space by the private actors led to the privatisation of the public space to an extent, and thus decreased the extent of the 'publicness' of the public space, and blurred the public-private distinction of the space.

Actors	Public-Private Nature
M&S	Private
S&N Breweries	Private
The City Council of Newcastle	Public
Passenger Transport Executive	Public
NJSR	Private
Robinson Penn	Private
Messrs Nicholson Design Partnership	Private
Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners	Private
Northumbria Motor Services	Private
Stagecoach	Private
NODA	Private

Table 6.1. The public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the planning and design process before the consultation period

Regarding the design of the new retail development, the key actors, comprising both the public and private actors, generally showed a collaborative attitude which led them to negotiate over various design issues (Officer of Legal Services; Ex-planning Chief; NJSR). This can be exemplified by the discussions with regard to the size, height and architectural style of the retail development. M&S initially intended to build a single-storey building with a contemporary design (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; NJSR). Yet, the City Council wanted a two-storey building which would reflect the typical features of the historical buildings opposite on Percy Street with

regard to the architecture and construction materials (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 23; Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; NJSR). Because they thought that such a building would significantly improve the setting of Percy Street and the views from the edge of Leazes Conservation Area, and restrict the view of the visually unsatisfactory rear of properties on Northumberland Street (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 23). Similarly, S&N Breweries preferred a two-storey public house with a traditional architecture style which would reflect the image of Old Orleans public house and restaurant chain[9] (Ex-planning Chief; S&N Breweries). The discussions among the interested parties ended up with the negotiation for the development of a two-storey building, whose facade would address the Victorian buildings on the other side of Percy Street, in particular the building at the corner of Percy Street and St. Thomas Street (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; NJSR) (Figures 6.8 and 6.9).

Figure 6.8. The Victorian building that the architectural characteristics of the façade of the retail development would address

It is also possible to note the collaborative attitude of M&S, S&N Breweries and the NCC regarding the relocation of the Old Orleans public house and the kiosks. The three interested parties negotiated the re-positioning of the new public house and restaurant and the kiosks. They decided to relocate the public house and restaurant to the northern end of the retail development (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 19; Ex-planning Chief; NJSR). Additionally, they agreed to locate the kiosks between the new public house and restaurant, and the M&S' extension (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 19; Ex-planning Chief; NJSR).

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[9] 'Old Orleans' is a UK-wide restaurant chain with a New Orleans theme, which is characterised by 'jazz', and the traditional cuisine and decoration of New Orleans (Old Orleans, no date; Old Orleans, 2002).

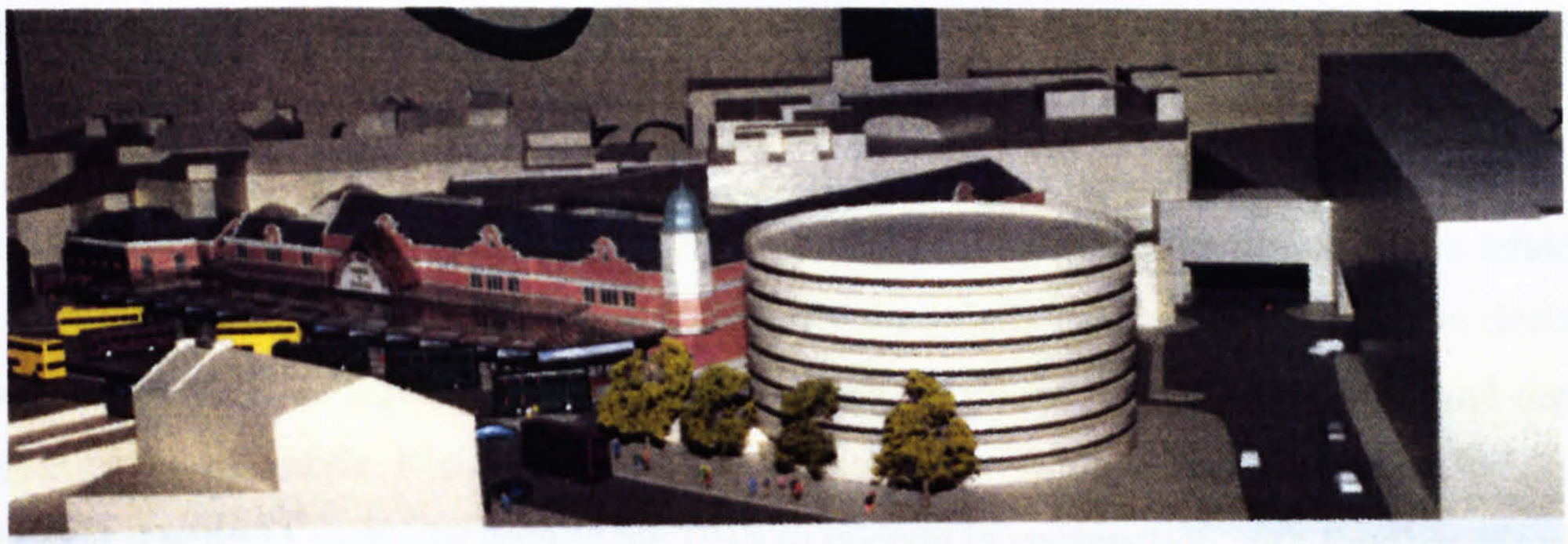

Figure 6.9. The model of the retail development, showing particularly its size, height and architectural features

Among the key actors, the private actors had clear ideas about the design of their own premises. For example, M&S, as the developer of the site, made the major decisions about the design of their new store in assistance with NJSR and their highway engineers (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; NJSR). They wanted an extension, the main entrance of which would be from the Haymarket, facing directly the pedestrian walkway and the passenger waiting area of the new bus station (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 17). The location of the new food hall was crucial within the interior organisation of the store. Facing the new food hall onto the Haymarket, M&S and their design team aimed at attracting customers to the store, particularly from the entrance of the HBS (The Representative of M&S, 2000[10]).

Even though the private actors were significantly influential in the design of their premises, the local authority played a leading role in the design of the private space. Again, the design of the M&S' store is a remarkable example. The new M&S store was to provide an access from the Haymarket to Northumberland Street and to Eldon Square Shopping Centre (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 17). Due to the passage-way role of the M&S' store between the Haymarket, Northumberland Street and Eldon Square Shopping Centre, particular attention was paid to the physical accessibility of the new store. The NCC played an influential role in the interior design of the store, by asking M&S and their architect to design the new store to facilitate access for all, by asking lifts and escalators (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 18). They also pointed out the significance of the location and design of the M&S' service yard and customer-collect zone which should facilitate the access to these areas without the disruption of the flow and safety of pedestrian and vehicular traffic around the site of the bus station (Ex-planning Chief; NJSR; M&S). On this basis, M&S, NJSR and the local authority agreed to relocate the access and egress of the service yard from Prudhoe Place to the northern end of the Haymarket; i.e. adjacent to the

[10] From here on, The Representative of M&S will be referred to as 'M&S'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

proposed entrance of the new bus station; and to position the customer-collect zone on Prudhoe Place (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 18).

The leading role of the local authority becomes more apparent when the design issues related to the public space are examined. The local authority was significantly dominant in the decision-making process of the layout of the bus station. Apart from the City Council, PTE and the bus companies Northumbria Motor Services and Stagecoach were involved in the discussions (NEXUS). The local authority wanted the HBS to operate in conjunction with Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street (Ex-planning Chief; HAT Officer; Design Team). They proposed a one-way road which was to enable buses to access the bus station from the northern end of Percy Street and exit from the south onto Prudhoe Place (Ex-planning Chief). They also suggested the re-positioning of the bus bays in front of the new retail development (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team) (Figures 6.7 and 6.10). This was to enable buses to nose toward the new retail development, while their exhausts were to point to the street (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team). As well as the bus bays, the local authority proposed a separate travelling lane which would allow the buses to reverse and progress toward the exit point on Prudhoe Place (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 18). Additionally, the City Council wanted the passenger waiting area and the pedestrian walkway to be between the bus operation area and the frontage of the new retail development (HAT Officer). Further, they suggested the walkway joining a passenger waiting area which was to comprise queuing barriers with some flip seating (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 18). Finally, they proposed a Victorian style canopy which was to cover both pedestrian walkway and passenger waiting area (Ex-planning Chief).

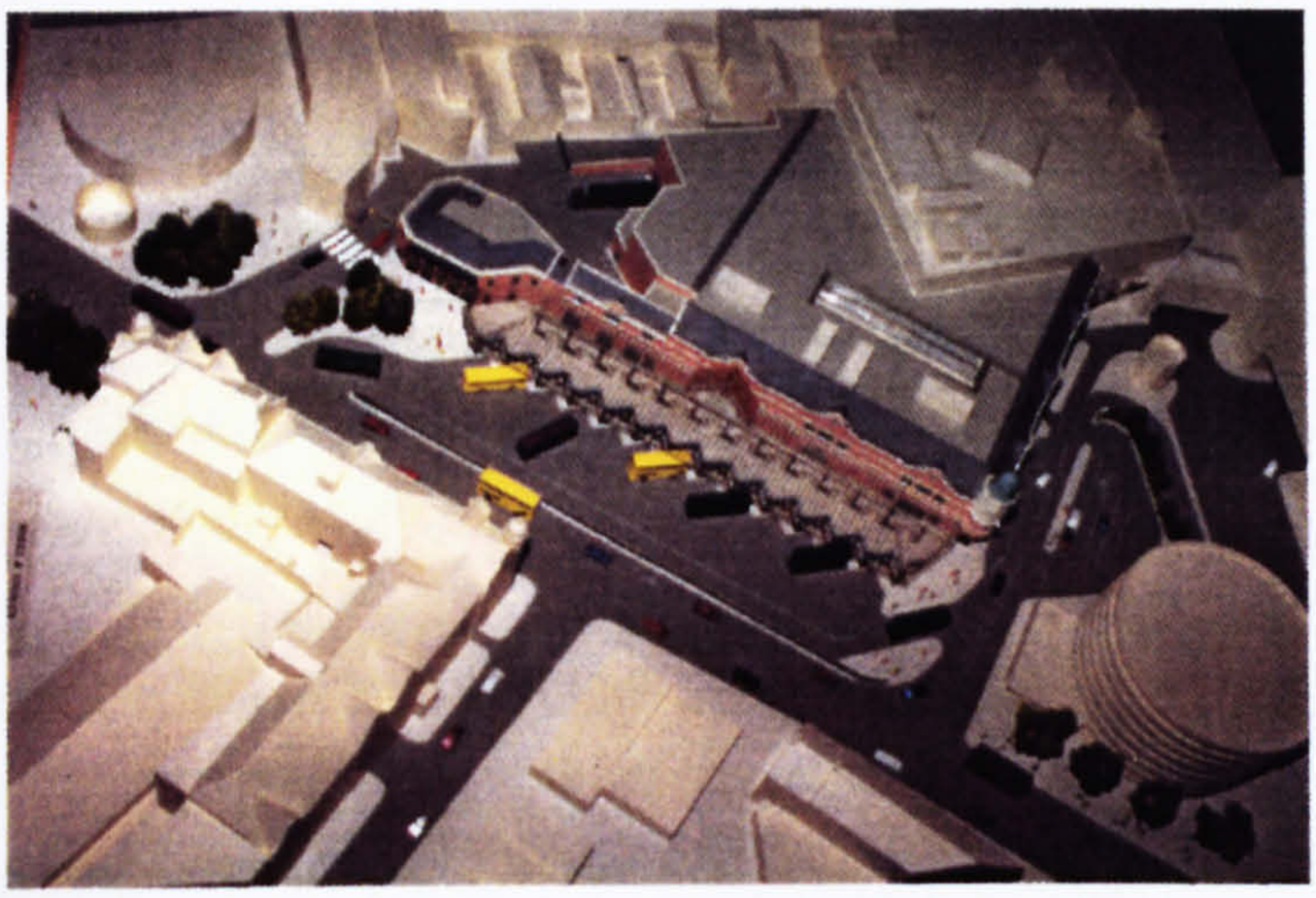

Figure 6.10. The model of the HBS development scheme which was mainly developed through the dominance of the NCC in the planning and design process

Both the bus company Northumbria Motor Services and PTE objected to the idea of using Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street as a part of the operation of the bus station (NEXUS; ARRIVA). The bus company Northumbria Motor Services wanted the entrance of the bus station to change from the southern to the northern end of the site; and proposed to use the entrance of the old bus station as the exit of the new bus station (ARRIVA). However, PTE insisted on keeping

the entrance and exit of the old bus station (NEXUS). Additionally, they supported the idea of re-positioning the bus bays and the passenger waiting area. They came up with a proposal for the design of a passenger waiting area based on square-shaped partitions which were to enable passengers to see each other and create a more social environment than a linear queuing arrangement provides (NEXUS; ARRIVA).

Despite the long discussions about the layout of the bus station between the three interested parties, the local authority insisted on their proposal which became the future layout of the bus station (Szandrowksi, 2000; NJSR).

Similar to the case of the bus station's layout, the local authority was the key decision-maker for the relocation of the taxi rank and the stall of the street trader (Ex-planning Chief; HAT Officer; Jarvis, 1995). The City Council wanted the new taxi rank to be located further down the realigned Prudhoe Place, i.e. to the east of the multi-storey car park (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 19). The proposed taxi rank was to comprise twenty holding bays, seventeen of which were to be adjacent to the multi-storey car park, and three of which were to be on Prudhoe Place (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 19). Regarding the re-location of the new stall of the street trader, the local authority suggested a place at the southern end of the bus station (Jarvis, 1995). During the early decision-making process of both the taxi rank and the street trader, the local authority consulted NODA; yet, they did not consult either the taxi drivers of the hackney carriages operating in the Haymarket, or the street trader in this stage of the design process (Officer of Legal Services).

Another design issue, in which the local authority acted as a decision-maker, was the hard and soft landscaping of the public space (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team). The City Council wanted to turn Percy Street into an avenue with trees; and saw the Haymarket as a potential site for the greening of the street (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; Landscape Officer). The local authority decided the places for the planting of trees which were: i) the site next to the metro station, ii) the site in front of the new public house, iii) the site at the southern end of the bus station, and iv) the site on Prudhoe Place (Newcastle City Council, 1996e; NJSR; Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; Landscape Officer). As well as the soft landscaping, the City Council made the decision on the hard landscaping of the Haymarket, particularly the construction material of York stone and the positioning of street furniture and two supaloos (public toilettes) on the site (Landscape Officer, NJSR). To sum up, the local authority, that is the public actor, played a leading and determining role in the design of the public space.

Apart from the dominance of the NCC, M&S, as the private actor, influenced the design of the public space to some extent. This is another component which undermined the public interest and reduced the 'publicness' of the public space. The most remarkable example is their influence on the size of the HBS. The City Council and PTE particularly wanted to enlarge the operational area of the bus station, and increase its capacity from nine to thirteen bays (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; NEXUS). The key actors agreed on the idea of developing a bigger bus station with thirteen bays. Yet, this idea did not become reality. During the design process, the bus operational area became smaller and smaller due to the M&S' extension which gradually expanded toward the bus station (NEXUS). Thus, the public space shrunk in favour of private interest. The second example relates to the canopy and seats of the bus station. The local authority asked M&S to provide Victorian style seats for the bus station, which would be in harmony with the Victorian style canopy of the bus station (Newcastle City Council, 1996c). M&S rejected these seats due to their high cost (Newcastle City Council, 1996c). As a result, ordinary seats were bought and installed in the bus station (Newcastle City Council, 1996c; Newcastle City Council, 1996a).

Briefly put, the major design principles of the HBS redevelopment scheme were determined by a small group of public and private actors which constituted the landowners and developer of the site, the local planning authority, the operator of the bus station, the large business interests and the professional assistant teams of the key players. Both public and private actors played collaborative roles in the process. In spite of the collaborative relationship between the public and private actors, the provision of the design of the public space by the private actors privatised to a degree the public space; and consequently, decreased its 'publicness' and blurred the public-private distinction of the space to some extent. Nonetheless, the local authority played a leading role in many design issues, including both public and private spaces. The NCC were dominant particularly in the design of the public space. This is a remarkable feature which increased the 'publicness' of the HBS scheme. In spite of the dominance of the public actor on the design issues of the public space, the absence of the daily and primary users of the public space in this part of the design process or a public forum, which would lead to the involvement of all segments of the population, undermines the 'publicness' of the planning and design process. Another issue which undermines the 'publicness' of the process is the influence of private actors in the design of the public space and consequently an output which would favour the private interest more than the old bus station used to do.

6.3.1.4 The public consultation process

Following the preparation of the design scheme of the HBS and the retail development, Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners prepared the necessary documents for the application of the development

permission on behalf of M&S and submitted them to the City Council in May 1994 (Newcastle City Council, 1994d). When the local authority received the planning application, on the basis of the legal procedure, they publicised the planning application of M&S through local newspapers, on-site notices and notifications to neighbourhoods; they consulted a number of agencies; and they waited for the public objections.

The agencies, which the local authority consulted, were the Director of Engineering, Environment and Protection (DEEP), the Conservation Areas Advisory Sub-Committee and the archaeologist of the local authority, PTE, Northumberland and Newcastle Society[11], Bainbridges[12], British Gas[13], Northern Electric[14], and British Coal[15] (Newcastle City Council, 1994a). It is possible to note that these agencies were the representatives of a range of public and private actors (Figure 6.2). Public actors were represented by local government agents which are responsible for the local planning and the operation of the bus station. Private actors, which were involved in the public consultation, included those which have large business interests related to the site. In addition, it is possible to note a semi-public actor which represents the interest of the city and citizens of Newcastle.

Actors	Public-Private Nature
The Director of Engineering, Environment and Protection, NCC	Public
Conservation Areas Advisory Sub-Committee, NCC	Public
The archaeologist, NCC	Public
PTE	Public
Northumberland and Newcastle Society	More public than private
Bainbridge	Private
British Gas	Private
Northern Electric	Private
British Coal	Private
4 Local residents	Private
The Victorian Society	More public than private
The MP from the Labour Party	Public
Eldon Square Shopping Centre plc.	Private
Thorn High Street Properties Ltd.	Private

Table 6.2. The public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the consultation period

[11] Northumberland and Newcastle Society is a registered charity which was founded in 1924 to preserve and increase the beauty and amenities of the County and City (Danby, 1994). It is a private actor, since it is an agency independent from the organisation of the public sector. But, it acts on behalf of the citizens of Newcastle and people from Northumberland. In this sense, it carries the feature of a public actor. Such agencies are more public than private actors. This is the term which is used in this research to refer to such actors.

[12] Bainbridges have recently changed its name as John Lewis; but this research will use the original name throughout this thesis.

[13] British Gas is a private company (*British Gas Newsroom*, no date).

[14] Northern Electric is the UK subsidiary of Mid America Holding Company, a US based group, which is a privately owned global energy provider (Northern Electric, 2002).

[15] British Coal is a private company (The Cambridge Don, no date).

Among these agencies, Bainbridges and Northumberland and Newcastle Society objected to the proposed scheme, while the other agencies supported it. There were two agencies which expressed their comments on the scheme. One of them was PTE which showed their concern on the layout of the bus station, and suggested that:

- a covered walkway be designed between the new bus station and Haymarket Metro Station;
- the northern end of the bus station be re-modelled to cater for right turning buses from Percy Street;
- floor to roof glazing/screening be designed for the passenger waiting area;
- accommodation be provided for a station manager, information and cleaning materials;
- traffic management on Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street be mainly arranged in order to give priority to bus services (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 20).

While PTE was particularly concerned about the proposed layout of the bus station with regards to its operation, Conservation Areas Advisory Committee pointed out the importance of the elevations of the M&S' extension and suggested that they should reflect the function of the M&S' store (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 20-21).

During the consultation period, the local authority received eleven objections to the HBS development scheme. The objectors represented a range of voices which constituted the residents living around the site, the large and small business interests of the site, the politician at central-government level and a charity. One of these objections, which came from a local resident, was against the idea of developing the HBS within the framework of a single retail development. Claiming that M&S would dominate the site, the objector argued that this would destroy the original principle of 'Haymarket' which "historically was a collective of corn and other merchants selling their wares" (Ruther, 1994). It is possible to note that the objector found the new development scheme inappropriate to the historic and cultural legacy of the Haymarket. Additionally, he (1994) noted the loss of sixty jobs due to the demolition of shops in the Haymarket. Instead of the domination of a big retailer in the Haymarket, the objector (1994) suggested that, in conformity with the traditional use of the old Haymarket, the small retail units be retained by refurbishment or be incorporated in the M&S' extension.

In relation to the objection above, The Victorian Society[16], a member of parliament from Labour Party and a local resident objected to the architectural style of the M&S' extension (Hartwell, 1994; The MP from Labour Party, 1994; Potter, 1994). The Victorian Society claims that "... the design of the frontages of the new building and the adjoining pub are completely unacceptable with poorly designed historicist detail" (Hartwell, 1994); while the other two objectors state that "... a good quality modern design (*would*) be more appropriate than a Victorian pastiche" (The member of the parliament from Labour Party, 1994; Potter, 1994; italics added). As one can note, the objectors oppose the idea of a simulation of Victorian architecture and reviving the historical and cultural legacy of this environment in an architectural deterministic way. As an alternative, they suggested a contemporary design for the extension of the M&S' store, which should reflect its function and show the proximity to the metro station and the multi-storey car park (Hartwell, 1994; The MP from Labour Party, 1994; Potter, 1994).

While the objections above represented the concern about the retail development, two local residents underlined the potential increase in the traffic problems on Percy Street due to the proposed bus station, and pointed out the need for a bigger space for a bus station (Serfaty, 1994; Jackson, 1994). Further, one of the objectors suggested that, instead of the retail development, the new bus station should be relocated to the rear of the M&S' store and the area where the current bus station stood should be redesigned as an open green space (Serfaty, 1994).

Another objector was a lecturer from the University of Newcastle who pointed out the glazed canopy, which could give rise to unacceptably high ambient temperatures within the passenger waiting area of the bus station, and result in the 'glasshouse' effect (Lowes, 1994). He suggested the need for a wind tunnel study for the canopy of the bus station (Lowes, 1994).

The disruption of the retail trade, which would be caused by the proposed development, was another concern of the objections. Both Bainbridge and Eldon Square Capital Shopping Centre plc, which had delivery sites on Prudhoe Street, objected to the proposed scheme, claiming that the potential increase in traffic flows around Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street would cause traffic jams and affect their retail operation (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 21; McDonald, 1994). They suggested that:

- M&S' customer-collect zone be relocated adjacent to their service yard;

[16] The Victorian Society is the national society responsible for the study and protection of Victorian and Edwardian architecture and other arts (Hartwell, 1994). It is a registered charity (The Victorian Society, 2002). Therefore, it is more public than private.

- the buses not use Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street and be routed from the bus station directly on to Percy Street;
- the new restaurant and public house be relocated in the proposed new taxi holding bays on Prudhoe Place;
- the new taxi rank be moved to a location adjacent to Haymarket Metro Station (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 21; The Manager of Eldon Square Shopping Centre, 1994).

Similarly, a tenant of a shop in the Haymarket objected to the scheme, arguing that the proposal would cause a large disruption to retail trade within this area and a loss of revenue to the premises that they occupied (Thorn High Street Properties Ltd., 1994).

Finally, the demolition of The Farmers' Rest was the subject of objections. The Northumberland and Newcastle Society objected to the HBS development scheme, claiming that The Farmers' Rest and Ginger Beer Works were valuable historical assets of the city and should be protected (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 21).

After receiving written objections and the outcomes of consultations of interested parties, the NCC considered the M&S' application through these written objections and the comments of the consulted agencies, as well as through national planning law, the 1994 Unitary Development Plan and the 1985 City Centre Local Plan. Among these recommendations and objections, all proposals of PTE as the operator of the bus station, except the first one, were introduced into the design scheme. Additionally, Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street were widened because of the objections of Bainbridge and Eldon Square Capital Shopping Centre plc. as the large business interests of the site (Eldon Square Shopping Centre Management). The NCC granted the outline planning permission in September 1994 (Newcastle City Council, 1994d). The planning permission was subject to a number of conditions, concerning the design of both the retail development and bus station which ranged from the windows, roof and balcony railing details of the new retail development to the detailed landscape scheme of the site, surface and boundary treatment of the bus station, column supports and stained glass features of the bus station canopy (Newcastle City Council, 1994d).

The presence of the public consultation in the planning and design process is an important indication in terms of the 'publicness' of the planning and design process, since it was open to all. Thus, the public consultation provided the major opportunity for the public to access the planning and design process and to express their opinions about the scheme. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the public consultation did not provide a discussion forum between the public and the

public actors. In other words, it was not an arena where the public and the public actors expressed and exchanged their opinions, or their influence on the design of the public space to be built. It was rather a one-way process of expressing the view of the public. In this sense, the absence of a discussion forum, as defined above, undermines the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the HBS development scheme.

Another remarkable aspect of the public consultation is how far the objectors were able to influence the design of the public space scheme. Why were the objections of PTE, Bainbridge and Eldon Square Capital Shopping Centre taken into account and were able to change the design scheme of the public space, while the other objections were ignored? Were the other objections not worth considering by the local authority? When the objections are examined carefully, it is possible to note that they point out various important issues which are in conjunction with the issue of 'public interest'. The importance of the historical and cultural legacy of the Haymarket, the significance of the function and size of the bus station, which would provide the public with a better operated public transportation service, the concern of the architectural style which would create a superficial connection with the historical and cultural legacy of the site, the traffic congestion and the ventilation problems of the bus station which would be created through the new design and the exclusion of the local and small-scale enterprises in favour of a big up-market retailer, are the considerably important and relevant issues of the public interest. The lack of concern of the local authority to these objections undermines the 'publicness' of the consultation process. This is also an indication of the fact that the local authority tended to collaborate with the operator of the bus station and the large business interests of the site, rather than with the local residents, small business interests operating in the site and charities. This attitude of the public authority also undermines the 'publicness' of the development process of the HBS.

Besides, the small number of the public who were involved in the public consultation is another aspect of the public consultation process of the HBS development scheme. Although the public consultation was open to all, and the Haymarket, as one of the busiest bus stations of the city, was visited daily by hundreds of people during day and night time, ranging from the bus passengers to the shopkeepers of the Haymarket, their employees and customers, the taxi and bus drivers, bus companies, only a small number of actors (just 17 actors) were involved in the consultation period (Figure 7.2).

Despite the high number and the variety of users of the Haymarket, why was the public concern with the HBS development scheme so small? Was everybody happy with the proposed scheme? In fact, there were three opposition groups which grew against the HBS development scheme. The

first one constituted the tenants of the shops at the Haymarket and Prudhoe Place. Although they did not approach the local authority with a written objection, they showed their reaction to the development scheme by reporting to the press that they were kicked out by the owners of these shops; i.e., M&S and the City Council (Ex-planning Chief). The second group, which came from the permanent users of The Farmers' Rest, was concerned about the demolition of the public house and expressed their sensitive attachment to The Farmers' Rest (Wood and Openshaw, 1994: 6; Eldon Square Shopping Centre Management) (Figure 6.11). For example, a 33 year-old regular customer of the public house from Whitley Bay, who used to come to the public house for 15 years, expressed how special the public house was for him:

> There are enough restaurants and fast food places in Newcastle. I used to come here on a Friday night and it's just become a habit. I come every day so it would be a shame to change it. (a regular customer of The Farmers' Rest; cited in Wood and Openshaw, 1994: 6)

The permanent users of The Farmers' Rest were also against the shift from a modest, local and traditional type of public house to an up-market, exclusive, theme-based and more commercial public house without any relation to its own characteristics. One of the permanent users of The Farmers' Rest, who was the regional director of The Campaign For Real Ale in the North-East of England, expressed his opinions as follows:

> It's a part of Newcastle's drinking tradition. Yet another long-established pub is going to disappear to make way for a new fad which is sure to be changed within a few years. The planners are allowing the Bigg Market culture to extend all the way up to Haymarket. (The regional director of The Campaign For Real Ale in the North-East of England; cited in Wood and Openshaw, 1994: 6)

Similarly, another permanent user of the public house, a 33 year-old regular customer of the public house from Walker, said:

> I'm old fashioned and I think this development would change the atmosphere of the place. I like to come in for a quiet drink and an American theme would spoil that. (a regular customer of The Farmers' Rest; cited in Wood and Openshaw, 1994: 6)

Northumberland and Newcastle Society represented the third opposition group which was against the demolition of The Farmers' Rest. With the support of English Heritage, they applied to the Secretary of State (SoS) to examine the historical value of The Farmers' Rest and Ginger Beer Works (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 16). The SoS issued a holding direction in June 1994 to examine the case (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 16). Yet, as a result of the examination, they

declared that they did not find either building appropriate to add to the statutory list, and withdrew the direction in August 1994 (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 16; Sproates, 1994).

Figure 6.11. News from local newspapers about the opposition groups against the demolition of The Farmers' Rest (Source: Wood and Openshaw, 1994: 6; Henderson, 1994: 3; Author unknown, 1994: 9)

Regarding the case of the HBS, it is important to note that there was significant public reaction to different aspects of the scheme. Although not all of these different groups raised their voice through the public consultation, they should have been listened to by the public authorities. In other words, there was a need to create a public arena where these groups and the public actors expressed, exchanged and influenced their opinions on the design of the new public space which was to be built. Even though this was the responsibility of the local authority, there is no evidence that the NCC genuinely made an effort to create such a public arena. Instead, the local authority ignored the public critics of the new development. In this sense, the opposition groups were excluded in the process. The lack of concern shown by the public authority on the opinions of the opposition groups has decreased the 'publicness' of the planning and design process. This is another instance which shows the fact that the NCC mainly collaborated with the operator of the bus station and the large business interests, rather than with all segments of the public.

6.3.2 Construction process

The construction process of the HBS development scheme started in September 1994 (Newcastle City Council, 1994d). The detailed design of the HBS development scheme went in parallel with the construction process. During the construction period, the bus station, the taxi rank and the street trader were relocated outside the construction site (Newcastle City Council, 1994e). The archaeological assessment of the site was carried out in December 1994. The site was closed to the highways in March 1995 (Newcastle City Council, 1995). The tenants of the Haymarket emptied the premises in February 1995 (Officer of Legal Services). This was followed by the demolition of the premises. The construction work lasted for two years. The realigned Prudhoe Place and the new taxi rank were open to public use in June 1995 (Newcastle City Council,

Figure 6.12. The construction process of the HBS and retail development (Source: The Newcastle upon Tyne City Libraries & Arts, 2000)

1994a). This was followed by the completion of the 'Old Orleans' public house which started to trade in late 1995 (Newcastle City Council, 1994e). The construction work of the M&S' extension and the bus station was completed in May 1996 (Newcastle City Council, 1994e). The landscaping of the site was finished in January 1997 (The Ex-planning Chief, NCC, 1997).

The construction process is characterised by the remarkable dominance of the private actors (Table 6.3). At the beginning of the construction process, M&S hired BOVIS, one of the biggest construction companies in Britain, which carried out all the construction work of the site using over 500 building contractors (Newcastle City Council, 1995; 12). They became a leading actor in the construction process, particularly through the 'design-and-build contract' which provided the contractor with the power to deal with other actors involved in the process (NJSR). Apart from the building contractor, M&S, S&N Breweries, the City Council, PTE, NJSR, Robinson Penn, Messrs Nicholson Design Partnership and Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners took part in the construction process (NJSR; Ex-planning Chief, Design Team, M&S). M&S, as the developer of the scheme, were responsible for paying the development cost of £30 million (Newcastle City Council, 1994a). S&N Breweries was involved in the process by paying the extra land value for the new public house (S&N Breweries). As mentioned earlier, NJSR, Robinson Penn and Messrs Nicholson Design Partnership carried out the detailed design work of the HBS development scheme (Ex-planning Chief; Design Team; NJSR; S&N Breweries; Landscape Officer). As for the planning consultancy of M&S, Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners, were charged with: i) submitting the detailed planning applications on behalf of M&S, ii) making sure that all the conditions of the outline planning permission were satisfied, and iii) monitoring the construction work to be carried out according to legal procedures (Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners). To sum up, private actors carried out the detailed design and construction work of the scheme. This is a significant indication which shows us the privatisation of the public space production to some extent; therefore, the decrease in the extent of the 'publicness' of the public space.

Actors	Public-Private Nature
M&S	Private
S&N Breweries	Private
BOVIS	Private
NJSR	Private
Robinson Penn	Private
Messrs Nicholson Design Partnership	Private
Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners	Private
The City Council of Newcastle	Public
Passenger Transport Executive	Public

Table 6.3. The public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the construction process

Similar to the initial part of the planning and design process, the construction process of the scheme was open only to the developer and landowners of the site, the construction companies, the private professional assistant consultancies, the planning authority and the operator of the bus station. It was not expected that there would be public involvement in the activities of the construction process, particularly when the scale of the development scheme and the health and safety of the public are considered. Yet, there is no evidence that the information about the construction process of the HBS was open to all segments of the public.

Another remarkable characteristic of the construction process of the HBS is the presence of the collaborative, facilitating, co-ordinating and regulatory roles of the public actors in the construction process of the HBS. The NCC took part in the process by carrying out the traffic signal works (Denton Hall, 1994). NEXUS[17] paid for the cost of double-glazing and doors of the bus station canopy, the pavement of the bus station, illumination, information boards, and the security cameras (NEXUS). As well as the contribution to the construction work, the public actors played the regulatory roles in the construction process of the public space. The NCC prepared the design brief which comprised the design details of the scheme; they closely monitored the construction work in order to make sure that the design details and all the conditions imposed by the outline planning permission were satisfied by the detailed design schemes; and the construction work was carried out according to the approved plans (Officer of Legal Services). In case of breach of planning conditions, they used their enforcement power in order that the private actors fulfil the planning conditions. For example, the City Council asked the contractor to make some changes regarding the material of the lettering on the railing of the bus station, the size of the M&S' logo and clock on the tower of the new retail development, the positioning of cycle parking, the surface treatment work of the bus operation area, the cleaning gantry and the soft landscaping works (The Representative of Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners, 1996; Newcastle City Council, 1996b; Newcastle City Council, 1996c; Newcastle City Council, 1996d; Perry, 1996; Young, 1997; The Representative of Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners, 1997; Officer of Legal

[17] PTE has recently changed its name and logo. It is now called NEXUS (*NEXUS, Who are we?*, no date: 1).

Services). Of these design issues, the most remarkable example is related to the soft landscaping works. The landscape scheme of the site proposed that the twenty trees be planted in the Haymarket: seven trees outside the metro station, eleven trees in front of the new public house and two trees at the southern end of the bus station, i.e. on Prudhoe Place (Newcastle City Council, 1996e). The trees were planted in November 1995; yet, the local authority did not find a way of planting the trees and installing the tree pits in accordance with the landscape scheme; and they did not approve the landscape works on Prudhoe Place (Newcastle City Council, 1996e; Newcastle City Council, 1996a). The local authority asked M&S and the contractor to re-excavate three pits, to re-plant and re-install the trees and tree pits outside the metro station and those in front of the new public house, and to do the landscaping works of Prudhoe Place in accordance with the approved landscape plan. M&S and BOVIS refused to carry out the works above. Subsequently, the local authority issued the Breach of Condition Notice in November 1996 (Newcastle City Council, 1996f). Consequently, the contractor had to undertake the landscaping works of the site once again in accordance with the landscape plan[18] (The Ex-planning Chief, NCC, 1997).

Similar to the example above, PTE also played a regulatory role in the construction process. They realised the change in the size of the bus bays made by the architect (NEXUS). Thus, PTE asked the architect to redesign the bus bays according to the PTE's standards, and as a result, the bus bays were built according to these standards (NEXUS). In addition, large bollards were installed in front of each bay to protect the canopy through the supervision of PTE (NEXUS).

The involvement of both the NCC and PTE, and their regulatory role in the construction process increased the 'publicness' of the construction process and the public space. When the involvement of the public actors in the construction process is examined, concerning the issue of the public interest, first, it is possible to note that the local authority made a significant deal with the private actors on behalf of the public, particularly regarding the construction of a new, better operating and safer public space with a very low cost to the local authority. This indicates a significant gain for public interest through the involvement of the public authority. Second, the intervention of PTE over the size of the bays and the inclusion of bollards is in the direction of developing a well-functioning and safe bus station, and obviously serves the public interest. However, the design issues for which particularly the local authority used their regulatory power, raises the question of how far the planning authority used their power for the public interest. It is interesting to note that the major design issues which became the concern of the local authority, are related to the visual

[18] Breach of Condition Notice (BCN) is issued when there is a breach of planning conditions. It is particularly designed for developers who do not fulfil the planning conditions. BCN specifies a period of time for the condition to be satisfied. Otherwise a fine is charged by LPAs. There is no appeal against BCN (Birtles and Stein, 1994: 80-81).

enhancement of the site more than the function of the public space. In other words, the issues, such as the lettering on the railing of the bus station, the size of the M&S' logo and clock on the tower of the new retail development, the soft landscaping works are related to the aesthetic quality of the public space, rather than the functional operation of the public space. It is important to be concerned with all design aspects of the public space which will improve its quality. Yet, in the case of the HBS development scheme, the local authority significantly emphasised the development of a 'good-looking' and 'attractive' public space, rather than a 'good and efficiently-functioning' public space. The size of the bus station is an important example in terms of showing the attitude of the local authority. As mentioned in the previous section, despite the target of the public actors to develop a bigger bus station, the bus operation area of the new bus station became smaller due to the expansion of the M&S' store toward the bus station. Although this is an issue which would influence the efficient operation of the bus station regarding the bus passengers, pedestrians and the bus operators, the local authority did not make any effort to produce a bigger bus station. The interview with the planning officer of NEXUS clearly shows the attitude of the NCC:

> ***Interviewer:*** So, you (PTE) wanted the bus station to be more spacious?
>
> ***The planning officer of NEXUS:*** Yes, it's because it's City Council's land, it's very valuable and so they tried to squeeze it. Perhaps they squeezed it a little bit too much. But, it works… . (NEXUS, 2000)

This is not the only example of the attitude of the local authority paying more attention to the aesthetic issues than the functions of the bus station. Another example is the passageway between the Haymarket and Northumberland Street. Before the development scheme took place, the lack of a passageway between the Haymarket and Northumberland Street used to cause inconvenience for pedestrians who wanted to commute between the Haymarket and Northumberland Street. Despite this significant need for a public passageway which is open to all throughout the day and night, the design of the scheme only provided two alternative passageways to pass between the Haymarket and Northumberland Street. The first was the passageway in the M&S' store, while the other is the Eldon Square staircase. Both passageways were to be open to the public only at certain times of the day[19]. As mentioned earlier, the local authority showed a special care toward the internal design of the M&S' store in terms of the physical accessibility for disabled and elderly people, wheelchair and pushchair users. However, they did not show the same concern for

[19] M&S is open from 8.30 to 18.00 on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday; while it is open from 8.30 to 20.00 on Thursday. For Friday and Saturday, it is open from 8.30 to 19.00. As for Sunday, the opening hours of the store are between 10.30 and 17.00. The Eldon Square Shopping Centre is open from 9.00 to 17.30 on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday. It is open between 9.00 and 20.00 on Thursday, 9.00 and 18.00 on Saturday, and 11.00 and 17.00 on Sunday.

the Eldon Square staircase at Prudhoe Place, which was as important as the passageway in the M&S' store. The staircase was erected by the building contractor BOVIS, before the approval of the design scheme (The Officer of the Highway and Transportation Department, NCC, 1996). The NCC did not approve the staircase after it was erected. Yet, M&S did not want to change it. Thus, the NCC had to accept the staircase as it was constructed, even though the staircase does not provide any access for disabled people, the elderly, wheelchair or pushchair users (Newcastle City Council, 1996a). This is an important issue which undermined the public interest, despite the presence of the public authorities throughout the development process of the HBS.

It is possible to observe the same attitude when the provision of the supaloos is concerned. The initial plan of the HBS included the proposal of two supaloos in front of the new public house. S&N Breweries objected to the idea, claiming that the toilet would block the visibility of the brand-new public house (S&N Breweries). As a result, only one public toilet was located next to the metro station (S&N Breweries). Again, the attitude of the local authority raises the same question: Why did the local authority not put the same effort to keep the second toilet on the site as they did regarding the cases of the lettering on the railing of the bus station, the size of the M&S' logo and clock, and the soft landscaping? The ambition of the local authority to develop an aesthetically appealing public space rather than a well-functioning one undermines the public interest in favour of the private interest.

Briefly put, on the one hand, the construction process of the HBS development scheme was open only to a small group of actors, including the developer and the landowners of the site, the construction companies, the private professional assistant team, the local authority and the operator of the bus station. The provision of the public space by the private actors is a feature which privatised to a degree the public space; blurred the public-private distinction of the space; and thus decreased the 'publicness' of the construction process and the public space. On the other hand, the involvement of the public actors, with their collaborative, facilitating, co-ordinating and regulatory roles in the construction process, increased the publicness' of the process. The involvement of the public authority in the development process served the public interest, since it resulted in a significant deal with the private actors on behalf of the public and this deal provided the public with a new, better and safer public space with almost no cost to the public authority (thus, the public). Yet, the analysis of the attitude of the public actors revealed that the local authority especially used their regulatory power to produce a 'good-looking' public space more than a 'well-functioning' public space. This brought about a satisfactory public space in visual rather than functional terms. This undermines the public interest, and thus the 'publicness' of the HBS.

6.3.3 Management and maintenance process

The management and maintenance of the bus station are mainly under the responsibility of public actors. NEXUS operates the bus station. That is, they monitor the bus network provided by private bus companies; they regulate bus services by allocating the bays to bus companies, grouping the bus services according to their destinations and frequencies (NEXUS; *NEXUS, Who are we?*, no date). In return, they charge a departure fee from bus companies (NEXUS). NEXUS pays for services along routes at certain times of day (such as early in the morning, late evening, on Sundays) when bus operators do not provide a commercial service and would otherwise not operate (NEXUS; *NEXUS, Who are we?*, no date). In addition to the bus operation, NEXUS provides the cleaning and small-scale repair services of the bus station (NEXUS). However, the provision of the large-scale maintenance services of the bus station and the public space is the responsibility of the NCC (HAT Officer, NEXUS). The local authority also runs the multi-storey car park (NEXUS). The City Police are charged with the security services of the bus station and its environs (Steven, 2000; The Assistant Financial Manager of M&S[1], 2000). The operation of the bus station, the cleaning, repair, and other maintenance services, car-parking and security services in the Haymarket are provided by the public actors. In other words, the HBS and its surrounding public space are mainly managed and maintained publicly.

Nonetheless, there are some components which lead to the privatisation of the management and maintenance of the site to a degree, and thus jeopardise the 'publicness' of the HBS. First of all, according to the planning agreement, M&S, as the developer of the bus station and one of the major business interests of the site, contributed to the maintenance of the public space by: i) paying £5,000 for ten-year commuted landscape maintenance costs; ii) being responsible for the replacement or repair of any defect or damage in the public space during a period of 12 months after the completion of the development (Denton Hall, 1994: 21). Second, the contractor which planted the trees in the site is responsible for maintaining the trees for five years (Landscape Officer). Third, the private bus companies provide the bus services. ARRIVA, Stagecoach and Go Ahead are the major bus companies which operate in the HBS. Further, the traffic management of the site is partly provided by the private actors. After the completion of the HBS development scheme, Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street have been one of the major problem areas of the site. The bus companies ARRIVA, Stagecoach and Go Ahead, and the high street retailers M&S, Bainbridge, Eldon Square Shopping Centre plc. and Fenwick pay for the traffic wardens to ease the traffic congestion in the site during the peak hours on weekends and in the Christmas period

[1] From here on, The Assistant Financial Manager of M&S will be referred to as 'M&S Management'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

(M&S Management; ARRIVA; NEXUS). In addition, despite the presence of the CCTV cameras of the City Police, the Haymarket also accommodates the M&S' security cameras which monitor mainly the front and rear of the M&S' premises (M&S Management). There is also an intervention of the private actors into the security services of the site through the security guards. Both the M&S' security guards and the bouncers of the 'Old Orleans' public house intervene in the operation of the public space when their security is jeopardised. The following statement by the M&S' Management shows the tendency of M&S regarding the control of the public space:

> In terms of the users, on certain days, on certain times, more people selling Big Issues[2], or begging. They don't appear to be aggressively begging, and therefore it doesn't offend any of our customers. But if that problem escalated, I think that could be a real issue putting off people who wanted to use that bus station. Cause I don't think that people feel comfortable. (M&S Management)

Besides, M&S also provide the lighting of certain parts of the public space; i.e., their service yard and the staircase in Prudhoe Place (M&S Management). Regarding the management and maintenance of the public space, some public services are provided, therefore, by the private actors. These are the characteristics which partly privatised the management and maintenance of the public space. Thus, they bring about a decrease in the 'publicness' of the HBS to a certain extent.

Actors	Public-Private Nature
NEXUS	Public
The City Council of Newcastle	Public
The City Police	Public
M&S	Private
S&N Breweries	Private
Bus companies	Private
Bainbridge	Private
Eldon Square Shopping Centre plc.	Private
Fenwick	Private
Old Orleans	Private

Table 6.4. The public-private nature of the actors which are involved in the management and maintenance process

Moreover, after the completion of the new bus station, NEXUS and the local authority have been taking increasing care in the maintenance of the HBS, particularly compared to the old HBS. They seek to keep the Haymarket clean, and to improve the aesthetic quality of the public space by introducing pots of flowers hung on the railings of the bus station (Figures 6.10, 6.13 and 6.14).

[2] The people who sell 'Big Issue' magazine are the people who were originally homeless and jobless people and need support with various issues of life, such as sheltering, training and education, finding a job, and fighting against drug, or alcohol addiction and so on . By becoming the vendors of the Big Issue, they are under the care of the Big Issue Foundation, which is a charitable organisation offering supports for them (Big Issue, no date).

introduced an electronic information board to inform the public about bus services (Figure 6.14). They are also planning to install a spoken information service for blind people (NEXUS). Hence, there has been a significant increase in the care and maintenance of the new Haymarket, when compared to the old one.

Figure 6.13. The flower pots hung on the railings improving the aesthetic quality of the Haymarket

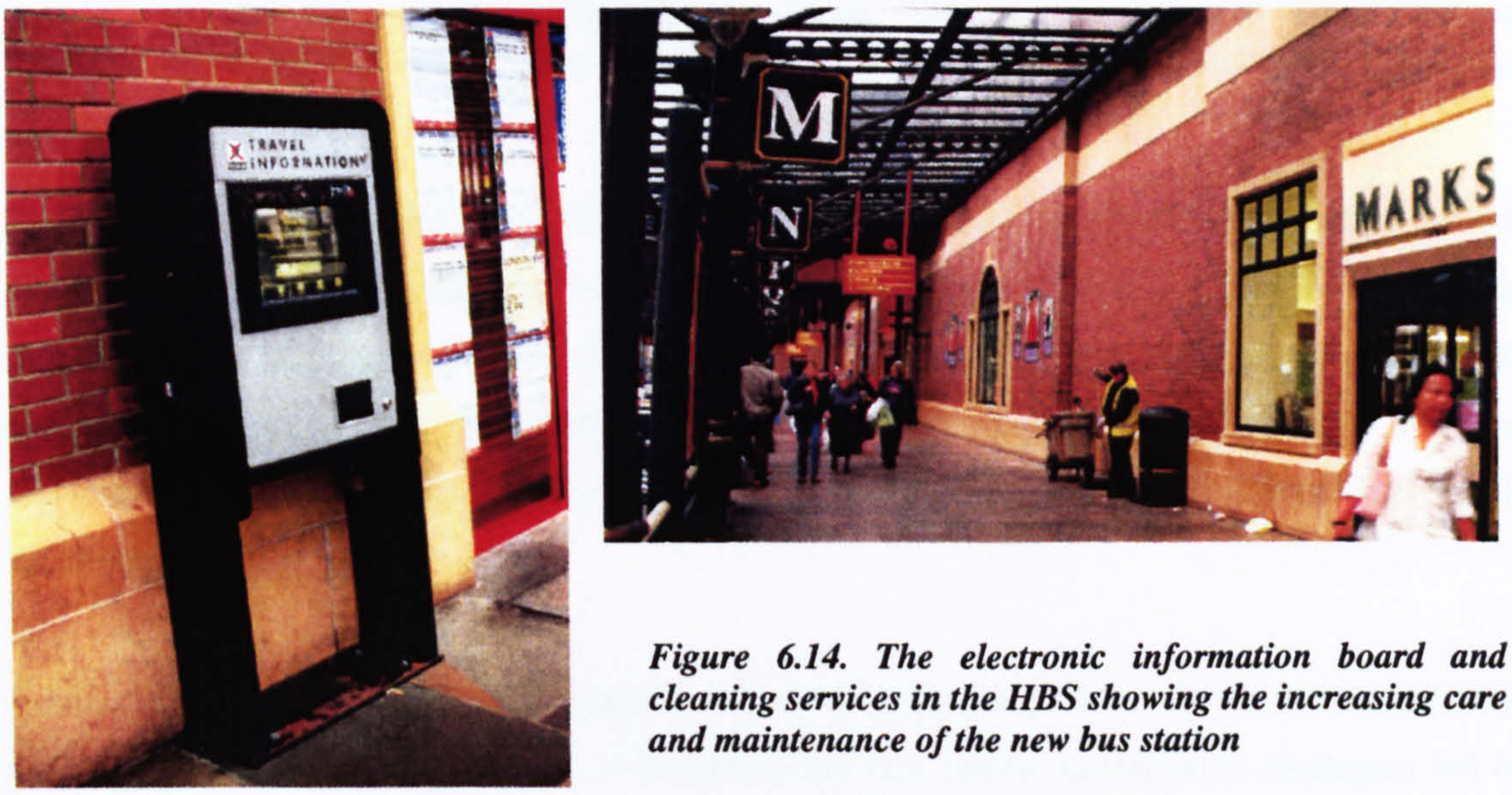

Figure 6.14. The electronic information board and cleaning services in the HBS showing the increasing care and maintenance of the new bus station

Seventeen interviewees, which comprise different user groups ranging from bus passengers, pedestrians, shoppers, a street trader, taxi and bus drivers, to the Manager of the Old Orleans public house, the Manager of Eldon Square Capital Shopping Centre plc, the Financial Assistant Manager of M&S, the commercial director of the bus company ARRIVA and the planning officer of the bus station operator NEXUS, claim that the Haymarket is a well-maintained public space. Some of them think that the bus station could be even cleaner, but they admit that it is hard to keep it clean due to the big number of users of the bus station.

After the completion of the new bus station and the new retail premises, another significant change is the increase in the control imposed on the HBS and its environs through the management policies. The security cameras and lighting, provided by the public and private actors, are the major means of control for the new public space. They intimidate the undesirable groups such as the homeless people, and keep them outside the HBS. Another means of control is the music played in the bus station throughout the operation of the bus station. It relaxes people, discourages violence and keeps teenagers away from the bus station. Finally, the public authorities directly impose a significant control on the public space in order to protect the bus station from certain groups, as the manager of Old Orleans public house points out:

> … The bus station tends to attract, especially because it's a covered area, tends to attract maybe more strange people who are hanging around the buses, and things. …, as I say, because it's a covered area, may attract homeless people. Cause they look for a place, especially in the winter, they're looking for somewhere to sleep, somewhere warm and somewhere covered. It's protection from the weather. But they do tend to be moved on from the bus station. They do not encourage to sleep there or to sit on the street. They are all told to move. (The Manager of the Old Orleans, 2000)

In fact, you are unlikely to see some groups such as the homeless, musicians or public performers, noisy teenagers or children, and some noisy activities, drinking of alcoholic beverages, sleeping on the benches or begging in the new Haymarket Bus Station. The interviews carried out with the bus passengers, pedestrians, taxi and bus drivers, reveal that the interviewees feel safe and comfortable in the bus station, and they have not seen strange people or groups who create trouble in the Haymarket.

The major motivation behind the management and maintenance policies of the public actors to create 'well-maintained public space' is based on the city centre regeneration strategies led by city-marketing and re-imaging policies. The City Council seeks to create good-looking and well-maintained public spaces in order to promote Newcastle as the 'service city', the 'culture city', and the 'city of transport and communication'. On this basis, they provide a high standard of maintenance services and introduce a more rigid control on the Haymarket than they used to do, in order to maintain these clean, ordered, safe public spaces. In other words, the management policies are clearly targeted to create a more disciplined, ordered, sanitised, hygienic, and safer public environment in the Haymarket than it used to be. It is very important to note that these control policies discourage disorderly and violent behaviour in the public space, encourage the creation of a peaceful public environment which will attract people more than an unorganised, filthy and threatening public space would. In addition, the provision of good maintenance services (such as the pots of flowers, electronic information boards and so on) remarkably beautifies the

city and improves the physical quality of the urban space. They attract people to the site, bring together various groups of people and hence provide a vivid and colourful arena for social interaction. Thus, the provision of such public spaces is in the public interest. Yet, it should also be noted that as the control imposed on the public space increases, this leads to certain groups being pushed out of the HBS, restricts certain activities occurring in the public space, and thus promotes social stratification and fragmentation, as well as social exclusion to some extent. In the case of the Haymarket, with the concern for creating a good-looking and well-maintained public space, the present management policies of the public actors intend to discourage some groups (such as the homeless, musicians, public performers, and noisy teenagers) from coming into the Haymarket, since they will jeopardise the good image of the place. This leads to a decrease in the physical accessibility of the public space, encourages social stratification and fragmentation, promotes social exclusion, and thus to some extent a decrease in the 'publicness' of the Haymarket.

Moreover, the management policies of the public authorities, which seek to enhance the visual quality of the HBS, are also indications of the over-emphasis of the public actors on the symbolic and economic roles of the public spaces, while undermining their physical, social, psychological and political roles. This is another issue which undermines the 'publicness' of the public space.

Briefly put, the management of the HBS is mainly under public control. This is an important aspect which secures the 'publicness' of the public space. Yet, it is privatised in certain aspects, particularly the contribution of private actors (mainly the large business interests which include high street retailers and bus companies) to the management cost of the public space, their intervention into the operation of the public space, and the provision of the bus services. These aspects reduce the 'publicness' of the HBS. The analysis of the management policies of the public actors shows that, within the context of city centre regeneration based on image-led strategies, the public authorities tend to provide high standard maintenance services, introduce more control than they used to do, and therefore seek to create a more ordered, disciplined, sanitised, hygienic and safer public environment in the new Haymarket than the old one. Since the management authorities create a more peaceful, safer and attractive place for the public, they serve the public interest. The increase in the control on the HBS, however, discourages some groups from coming to the public space, limits some activities from occurring and thus reduces the public accessibility of the bus station and its surrounding public space. Consequently, it reinforces gentrification, social stratification and fragmentation, as well as social exclusion. Additionally, the analysis of the management policies also reveals that they tend to emphasise the symbolic and economic

roles of the HBS, while undermining its physical, psychological, social and political roles. This is another feature of the management policies which reduces the 'publicness' of the HBS.

6.3.4 Use process

6.3.4.1 Actors

The new HBS has been open to the public use since 1997. It is still one of the busiest public spaces of the city centre. A great many diverse groups use the HBS. The property owners of the new layout of the Haymarket are M&S, S&N Breweries and the NCC. The new tenants of the retail development are the newsagents Finlays, the bakery shop Greggs, the bus company ARRIVA, NEXUS and the local authority. The street trader, hackney carriages and the bus companies ARRIVA, Stagecoach and Go Ahead are the tenants of the bus station. While the employees of the retailers (M&S, S&N Breweries, Finlays and Greggs) are the working population of the private space in the site, taxi and bus drivers, employees of NEXUS, and street traders who form the working population of the public space. Finally, bus passengers, pedestrians and shoppers are the predominant users of the Haymarket. There is no survey about the average number of the visitors to the Haymarket in a year. But, according to NEXUS' statistics, the annual number of bus passengers using the Haymarket is 7.76 million (NEXUS). This figure clearly shows the high public use of the Haymarket.

6.3.4.2 Access

The HBS is a highly accessible public space; since it is an open environment; that is, there is no physical restriction imposed on the space which limits the physical accessibility of the public. Being a bus station, and situated close to the metro station, the HBS is accessible to pedestrians and Metro and bus passengers. Moreover, accommodating the multi-storey car park, the site enables car users to have an easy access to the site. Further, after the redevelopment of the Haymarket, the physical accessibility of the bus station and its surroundings has significantly improved for the public, particularly disabled and elderly people, as well as wheelchair and pushchair users.

Although it is one of the most accessible public spaces of the city centre, the recent development scheme has reduced the physical accessibility of the HBS to some extent. When Table 6.4 and Table 6.5, which show the variety and diversity of the user groups before and after the redevelopment of the Haymarket, are examined, it is possible to see that the Haymarket has lost the variety and diversity of the users after its redevelopment. One of the major reasons for this

loss is the departure of the varied and diverse small retailers from the Haymarket. These small and moderate retail units used to create a vivid, colourful and lively social atmosphere for the Haymarket, since they used to attract various groups to the Haymarket throughout the day and night. After their move from the Haymarket, the customers of these small retailers, the late-night diners who used to come to the take-away restaurants in the Haymarket, and then go home by taxi, metro or bus, and all strangers who were attracted to this chaotic and disorganised public environment were pushed out.

The Haymarket has also lost this variety and diversity due to the new up-market retailers (particularly M&S and the Old Orleans) which have started to attract more affluent groups than the small and inexpensive shops of the old Haymarket and The Farmers' Rest used to do. In this sense, the people who used to enjoy shopping in the modest and inexpensive small shops in the old Haymarket and those who cannot afford to be the customers of the new upmarket retailers have been pushed out to a degree from the HBS and its environs.

Actors	Public-Private nature
Slough Estate	Private
M&S	Private
The City Council of Newcastle	Public
S&N Breweries	Private
Legal & General Insurance	Private
Get Stuffed	Private
Newcastle Kebab	Private
Pizza King	Private
Greggs	Private
Park Café	Private
Mayfair	Private
Stages Truck Dance-wear	Private
Timpson	Private
M&N News	Private
Cascade Amusement Arcade	Private
Gus Carter	Private
The souvenir shop of Newcastle United	Private
Park Lane	Private
Bobby Ann	Private
Pasha	Private
Casa Del Florio	Private
Eldon Antiques	Private
Top Style hair dresser	Private
Employees of the small retail units	Private
Street traders	Private
Private hire taxi company	Private
Hackney carriages	Private
'General Motor Services' bus company	Private
'Stagecoach' bus company	Private
PTE	Public
Bus passengers, pedestrians and shoppers	A large part of the public

Table 6.5. The public-private nature of the users of the HBS before its redevelopment

Actors	Public-Private nature
NEXUS	Public
M&S	Private
S&N Breweries	Private
Eldon Square Shopping Centre plc.	Private
Fenwick	Private
Bainbridge	Private
Finlays	Private
Greggs	Private
Street trader	Private
Hackney carriages	Private
'ARRIVA' bus company	Private
'Stagecoach' bus company	Private
'Go Ahead' bus company	Private
Employees of the retailers in the Haymarket	Private
Bus passengers, pedestrians and shoppers	A large part of the public

Table 6.6. The public-private nature of the users of the HBS after its redevelopment

This is also strengthened by the new design of the Haymarket which has reinforced the feeling of affluence to some extent, and thus attracted more affluent groups than the old Haymarket (Figure 6.15). That is, the new look of the Haymarket is more affluent and exclusive than the old Haymarket. The chic Victorian-style architecture, stylish, highly ornamental and elegant materials of the M&S' and Old Orleans retail premises have reinforced the feeling of affluence and exclusivity more than the modest and simple design features of the retail units in the old Haymarket. According to Hajer (1993: 63) and Loukaitou-Sideris (1993: 153), the affluent and exclusive design of the space is more likely to attract affluent groups than others.

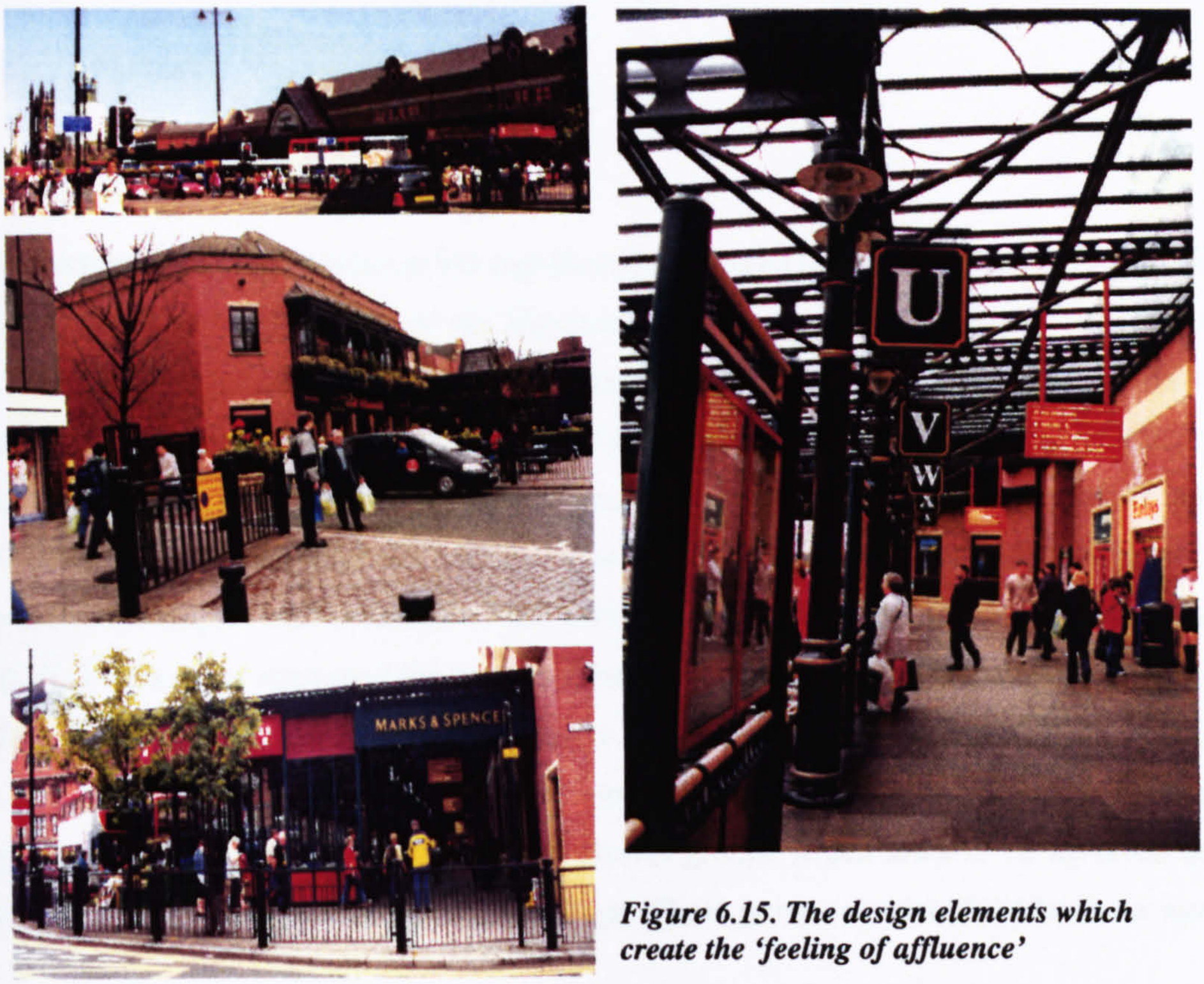

Figure 6.15. The design elements which create the 'feeling of affluence'

Furthermore, the new design of the HBS has introduced a 'discipline' and 'order' into the space. In other words, the new bus station is a more disciplined, ordered, sanitised, hygienic, and safer space than the old one. It is now more predictable which activity will occur, where it will occur and who will be involved in this activity. It should be noted that the order and discipline, which have been brought into the bus station, provide comfort and convenience for the users of the Haymarket, especially the bus passengers and pedestrians. In addition, the 'ordered' and 'disciplined' Haymarket also provides a smooth operation for the retailers, bus companies and the management of the bus station. Further, it promotes the 'good image' of the city. Nevertheless, it dictates some restrictions on the activities which occur in the public space, particularly the spontaneous activities which normally attract a variety and diversity of people. For example, in the new bus station, there is no room for informal activities; i.e. spontaneous and free action. For this reason, it is not very common to see homeless people, beggars, street vendors, musicians, public performers or noisy teenagers hanging around in the new bus station.

To sum up, the new design features of the Haymarket have reduced the physical accessibility of the new public space, since they push certain groups out of the Haymarket, restrict certain activities from occurring in the public space, and thus promote to some extent 'social filtering' and the creation of a 'homogenous public'. In this sense, the new design of the HBS reinforces to a degree gentrification, social exclusion, social stratification and fragmentation.

6.3.4.3 Interest

6.3.4.3.1 Private actors

The Haymarket improvement scheme has significantly favoured the private interest. First of all, as mentioned above, the new design of the Haymarket has created a 'disciplined' and 'ordered' public space which provides a smooth operation for the retailers, bus companies, hackney carriages and street traders. It also has significantly improved the image of the area, which has benefited the up-market retailers who target affluent groups more than others. As well as the up-market retailers, the public space improvements in the Haymarket has benefited the property and land owners, developers and investors of the private space around the Haymarket. The 'good-looking' Haymarket has improved the image of the area and thus caused a significant increase in the land and property values of the private space. Moreover, in a wider context, the improved image of the area, which has increased the development activities in the private space around the Haymarket, has benefited and will benefit all interest groups which are/will be involved in the regeneration of the Haymarket and its surroundings. These groups consist of the business interest

in the finance industry (building societies, banks, personal loan investments, etc.), the construction industry (building contractors, agents who hire plants, and supply construction materials, etc.) and estate agencies.

M&S, as the developer of the Haymarket, have added over 6,500 square metres of gross retail floor space to their store which has made it the biggest store in Britain, outside London, in return for their development contribution of £30 million (Newcastle City Council, 1994a; Denton Hall, 1994: 22). They have also acquired three kiosks which they rent to the NCC, Greggs and Finlays. In addition to the income arising from the tenants of the kiosks, M&S have improved their service yard and customer-collect zone facilities which provide remarkable convenience for them in their trading. More than anything, M&S have now acquired a very advantageous position in the Haymarket, by being on the doorstep of a very busy bus station, a passageway between the Haymarket, Northumberland Street and Eldon Square Shopping Centre, which has significantly increased their customer capacity (Newcastle City Council, 1994a: 17; Denton Hall, 1994: 22; MP from Labour Party, 2000; NEXUS). Stating that 35% of their customers come to the store from the Haymarket entrance, M&S Management pinpoints the advantage of having an entrance in the Haymarket and being a short cut between the Haymarket and Northumberland Street, as follows:

> We know that the route between Northumberland Street and bus station is used as a short cut by a lot of people. We know that only 70% of the people who come through these doors actually spend money. So the big challenge of M&S is how to make the invitation to shop better, to persuade them to stop and buy when they pass through. That's the real commercial challenge for us. (M&S Management)

When S&N Breweries is considered, their main benefit is having a new, 'good-looking', up-market public house and restaurant in the Haymarket. Like M&S, they have acquired a very advantageous position in the Haymarket, by being very near to a considerably busy bus station. They also significantly increased their customer capacity, as the Manager of the public house claims:

> Obviously as a business we're trying to benefit from the fact that the bus station is outside the door. Because people waiting for a bus are coming and having a drink, while they're waiting, or they get off the bus, and may decide to have something to eat in the restaurant before they go out or before they go shopping. So we do benefit from that. But we noticed that when the bus station is closed, it actually had an impact on our business. (The manager of Old Orleans, 2000)

As well as the rise in the customer numbers, S&N Breweries have benefited from the significant increase in the value of their property, due to the improvement of the Haymarket. Additionally,

the revenue of the public house has increased remarkably due to the change in the image and the customer profile of the public house, as the Representative of S&N Breweries states:

> (*The pub*) ... works well. It is now recognised. It has a good circuit for drinking. Good location, good pitch. S&N Breweries own it. If they want to sell it, I'm sure, so many major breweries would pick it up. Certainly it is one of the good operators in Newcastle. So, it works well, it is profitable. (S&N Breweries, 2000; italics added)

Apart from M&S and S&N Breweries, the street trader, hackney carriages and the bus companies ARRIVA and Stagecoach are also beneficiaries of the public space improvement scheme, since they have kept their position in the site and are provided with a better and more organised environment. The bus company ARRIVA claims that they are contented with the new bus station:

> The bus station is a pleasant environment, particularly when compared to the old bus station. It's a major improvement in the facilities on what there was in the old bus station. It's a lot safer for the public as far as the movement of the public, the conflicts of the movement are considered. (ARRIVA).

The street trader who previously did not have a sheltered stall, has a very protected site under the canopy (Ex-planning Chief). Greggs and Finlays, as the tenants of the kiosks are also within the winning group. Having a good position in the Haymarket, the street trader, Greggs and Finlays make very good business.

Finally, the construction company BOVIS, the contractors which BOVIS worked with, the companies which hired plants and supplied construction materials, the private design and planning consultants which took part in the development of the HBS were all beneficiaries of the development of the public space. Nevertheless, the small businesses who were tenants of the retail units at the Haymarket and Prudhoe Place (except Greggs and ARRIVA), as another group of private actors, did not benefit from the improvement scheme of the Haymarket. Instead, they were pushed out from the site.

6.3.4.3.2 Public actors

The HBS improvement scheme has been highly beneficial for public actors, especially for the local authority and NEXUS. The scheme manifests two major achievements of the local authority. First of all, the NCC showed their success, commitment and effectiveness in the urban regeneration projects, as well as the city-marketing and re-imaging policies, through this scheme. On the one hand, the production of an 'ordered', 'disciplined', 'beautiful' public space, which would play a very important role in increasing the land values to attract inward investment around

the Haymarket and Percy Street, bringing back economic vitality to Percy Street, and so regenerating and revitalising this part of the city centre, represents the big success of the local authority in urban regeneration projects. On the other hand, the 'well-designed' and 'well-maintained' bus station and its environs symbolises the success of the local authority with regard to the city-marketing and re-imaging policies; since the development scheme developed a positive image for the Haymarket, enhanced and promoted the image of the city as the 'city of transportation and communication', the 'regional capital', the 'service city' and the 'working city'. By leading such a big scheme in partnership with the private sector, the NCC achieved a considerable success in terms of the city-marketing and re-imaging policies. This success of the local authority in the HBS scheme was a vehicle of legitimacy for them and a way to improve their political credit.

Second, the HBS was a profitable investment for the NCC. Playing an entrepreneurial role, that is, being a driving force of the scheme through risk-taking, inventiveness promotion and profit motivation roles, the NCC finalised a very successful deal with the private sector on their own behalf. First of all, they exchanged an unattractive public space, containing a very old bus station, and the temporary retail premises which did not bring much revenue for the local authority, with a brand-new bus station which comprises improved facilities and associated highway works, and a better connection to Eldon Square Shopping Centre and Haymarket Metro Station, and a new taxi rank, at almost no cost to themselves (Denton Hall, 1994: 18, 21; Newcastle City Council, 1994c; Newcastle City Council, 1995; Design Team; Officer of Legal Services). Additionally, they received from M&S:

a. the sum of £1.2 million due to the transfer of a piece of land on Prudhoe Place;
b. the sum of £45,000, since the planning authority would carry out the traffic signal works;
c. indemnities against:
    - "any claim arising out of or in connection with or incidental to the carrying out of the highway works";
    - "any damage caused to any highway maintainable at the public expense arising from the carrying out of the highway works",
    - any claim toward the replacement or repair of any work related to highway works, which have been found unsatisfactory by the NCC (Denton Hall, 1994: 18, 21; Newcastle City Council, 1994c; Newcastle City Council, 1995; Design Team; Officer of Legal Services).

Further, with the increase in the capacity of the bus station, the revenue of the local authority coming from the operation of the bus station has also increased[3]. Besides, the local authority has not lost any revenue with regard to the retailers which used to trade in the old Haymarket. They still have the revenue from the street trader and hackney carriages. Moreover, the NCC rents one of the M&S' kiosks for 125 years at a rent of £25,000 per annum (Denton Hall, 1994). According to the planning agreement, the NCC has a right to sub-lease the kiosk. So, they have sub-leased the kiosk to ARRIVA for the ticket operation of the bus company for five years, and to NEXUS for the bus drivers' rest room (Newcastle City Council, 1996e 19; Officer of Legal Services). According to the tenancy agreement of ARRIVA, the company was to pay a peppercorn rent for the first six months (Officer of Legal Services). Then, they were to pay £10,250 for the following six months (Officer of Legal Services). The annual rent of the kiosk was £25,000 for the second year, while it was £27,500 for the third year, and £30,000 for the fourth and fifth years (Officer of Legal Services). Additionally, they sub-lease the drivers' room to NEXUS (HAT Officer). So, the HBS development scheme has significantly been beneficial and profitable for the NCC.

The HBS improvement scheme has also been very beneficial for NEXUS. The new design of the HBS which created a 'disciplined' and 'ordered' public space, provides smooth operation of the management of the bus station. Besides, as mentioned earlier, the revenue of NEXUS from the bus station has increased because of the increase in the capacity and the new design features of the bus station.

6.3.4.3.3 The public

The redevelopment of the HBS has also benefited the public. First, thanks to the successful deal of the local authority with the private sector, the public has gained a brand-new bus station at no cost to themselves. Second, the recent development scheme has brought about a significant improvement in the bus station and its surroundings. The unattractive, chaotic, unorganised, crowded and filthy public space has turned into an 'ordered', 'disciplined', 'attractive' and 'well-maintained' space. By eliminating various undesirable factors, such as traffic conflicts between pedestrians and vehicles, untidy and disorganised taxi ranks, smoke and bad weather conditions, the design of the new bus station has created a more organised, cleaner, safer and healthier environment. More specifically, the new HBS has significantly improved the accessibility of the pedestrians and bus passengers, particularly disabled and elderly people, and pushchair and

[3] Bus companies pay a departure fee for each visit to the bus station (NEXUS). The departure fee is approximately £0.25 (NEXUS). According to NEXUS' statistics, 270,000 buses depart from the bus station a year (NEXUS). Thus, the annual income of the NCC for the operation of the bus station is £67,500.

wheelchair users (Design Team; Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners). Additionally, it has provided a healthier and sheltered environment for bus passengers and pedestrians away from the exhausts of the buses and bad weather conditions (Design Team; Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners). With a better-organised queuing system and the music played in the station, it is a much more comfortable and distinctive environment than the old bus station (Design Team; Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners). Further, the development scheme has significantly beautified the Haymarket. That is, it has brought a remarkable visual improvement to the space through the architectural and other design features of the new retail development and the new soft and hard landscaping. The new public space is now looking much more distinct, attractive and prettier than the old Haymarket. Briefly put, the new Haymarket is now a place which the people of Newcastle are proud of. Thus, the redevelopment of the HBS has significantly improved the public interest (Figure 6.16).

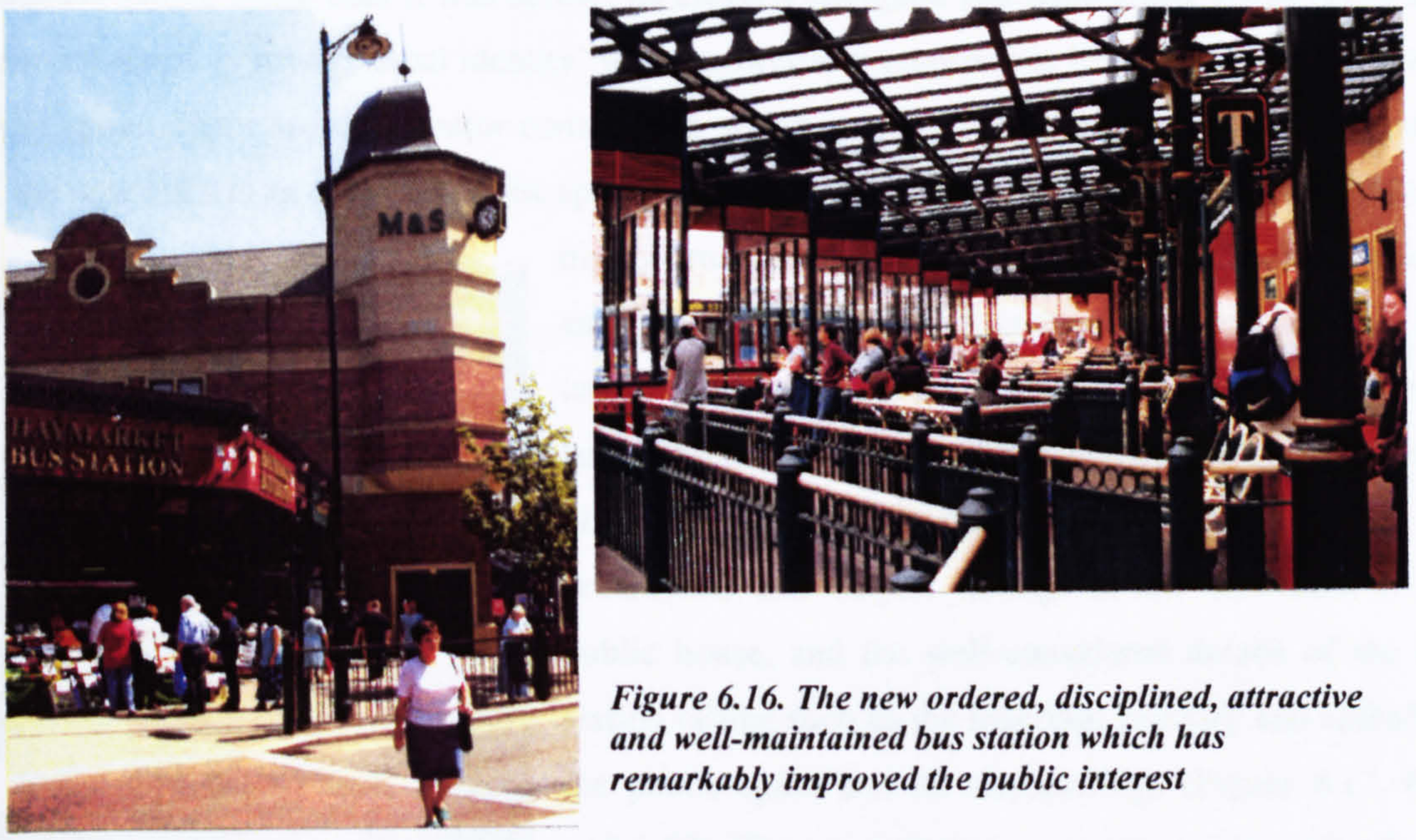

Figure 6.16. The new ordered, disciplined, attractive and well-maintained bus station which has remarkably improved the public interest

Seventeen interviews were conducted with bus passengers, pedestrians, shoppers, street traders, taxi and bus drivers, the Manager of Old Orleans, the Manager of Eldon Square Capital Shopping Centre plc, the Financial Assistant Manager of M&S, the commercial director of the bus company ARRIVA and the planning officer of the bus station operator NEXUS in order to understand whether the present users of the Haymarket are satisfied with the new design of the public space. They claim that the new design of the Haymarket is satisfactory when compared to the old one.

Nevertheless, the new HBS contains some features which undermine the 'publicness' of the space. By promoting the economic and symbolic roles of the public space, the recent development scheme has turned the HBS into a means to help the regeneration of the northern end of the city

centre, and an instrument which would help Newcastle to build a new and positive image to market itself and thus to find a position in competitive urban markets. Additionally, again by stressing the economic and symbolic roles of the public space, the HBS scheme has turned the public space into a tool to generate profit for some groups. Further, the recent development scheme has turned the HBS into a public space which serves as a means of increasing consumption more than it used to be. Therefore, the recent development scheme produced a public space, where the economic and symbolic roles are over-emphasised, while the social, political and some of the physical roles are undermined. In this sense, the new bus station became a public space which favours the public interest less than it used to do.

It is possible to see the indications of the arguments above, when the new HBS is carefully examined. The HBS is a very 'well-designed' space. It is a much more beautiful, exclusive and distinctive public space than it was before. Its cleverly designed and maintained visual décor and ambience create a 'strong visual identity' which powerfully emphasises its symbolic function as a public space. There are three major components which create this strong visual identity. First of all, the new HBS is an enriched public space with high quality construction materials, particularly highly ornamental and elegant ones, high quality artworks, and design elements which create a chic architecture. The use of York stone as a construction material in the hard landscaping, the nice-looking clock tower, impressive glass-panel artwork[1] on the canopy of the bus station, the ornamental and elegant railings of the balconies of the public house, and the well-considered details of the bus station railing such as the lettering, beautify and embellish the public space and its surroundings (Figure 6.17, 6.18 and 6.19). The same design components also embody the principle of 'exclusivity in design', which intends to attract, impress and at the same time promote the 'feeling of affluence' (Hajer, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). In addition, the strong visual identity of the new HBS is also created through the principle of 'variety and diversity'. The new image of the HBS and its surroundings is the product of two architectural styles which are the

Figure 6.17. 'Pennies of heaven' - Glass-panel artwork of the bus station canopy which remarkably improve the aesthetic quality of the bus station

[1] The glass panels are situated on the canopy of the bus station. It can be only seen, when one stands in the middle of the bus station, just underneath the artwork. It is made up of glass panels painted different colours. Since they illustrate coins, the artwork is called 'pennies of heaven'. As the sun shines through these glass panels, the reflections of these panels create beautiful colours on the ground.

simulation of Victorian architecture and a 'New Orleans' theme. The collage of these two architectural styles, which have been cleverly used in the design, creates a 'visual variety', as Crilley (1993) calls it 'scenographic variety'. Although the architectural components have brought a strong visual identity into the site, the images which are used in the Haymarket, are the manufactured images that do not bear much relation to the images of the history and culture of the old Haymarket. On the one hand, the 'New Orleans' theme is an imported image of American culture to the Haymarket, which has no relation to the local history and culture. On the other hand, the simulation of the Victorian architecture is a part of the local, especially British, architectural history; yet, it has never been a component of the old modest image of the Haymarket. This is a rather 'grandiose' image, which was imported and superficially attached to the Haymarket. Therefore, the new design of the bus station which consists of two different manufactured and imported images creates a strong identity which powerfully emphasise the symbolic function of the Haymarket.

Figure 6.18. The ornamental and elegant railing of the balconies of the public house and the special design components of the building façade which promote the manufactured 'New Orleans' theme

Figure 6.19. Carefully-designed railing of the bus station with special lettering and flower pots which embellish the bus station and Percy Street

So, why were these images manufactured for the Haymarket? Why was a strong visual identity created for the Haymarket? Enhancing the visual quality of the public space by manufacturing new images and creating a very strong visual identity which does not bear much relation to the locality partly find their basis in the policies of city centre regeneration and city-marketing and re-imaging policies. Regarding the city centre regeneration policies, the creation and use of these images for the HBS represent the view of seeing the bus station (i.e., the public space) as a means for economic value generation. That is, the public space is considered as a tool to develop a

positive image of the site, and thus to increase the land values, attract affluent groups and inward investment to the area. Here, the public space is used as an economic catalyst in the regeneration of the Haymarket and its surroundings. That is, the manufactured symbolic value of the HBS has been promoted in order to use the economic value generator role of the public space for the regeneration of the Haymarket and its surroundings. Thus, the HBS has been turned into a means to regenerate this part of the city centre.

Regarding the city-marketing and re-imaging policies, it should be noted that the HBS was not seen only as a bus station which would simply function to gather and disperse the citizens of Newcastle. It was considered as a tool within the economic development scenario of Newcastle to find a place in a competitive global market. Thus, the HBS was seen as a public space which would not only serve the local people, but also the national and international investors, the employees of these investors (mainly the service sector), the affluent groups and tourists. It would play the role of the transportation and communication medium, which would enhance the promotion of one of the images of Newcastle; i.e. the 'transportation and communication city'. In addition, as a public space, it would please the eyes of the investors, the employees of the service sectors, affluent groups and tourists. The bus station would give the image of the 'working city', the 'service city' and the 'regional capital'; and it needed to have, therefore, a 'grandiose' image to impress, and attract the inward investment, the affluent groups and tourists. Again, it is possible to see that, within the context of city-marketing and re-imaging policies, by promoting the symbolic values of the HBS and using its economic value generator role, the public space has been used as a means of building a new and positive image for the city and to use this image to market Newcastle, and thus to find a place in the global urban markets.

The reason for the strong emphasis on the economic roles of the HBS can also be traced through the effort to use the public space as a means of increasing consumption. The new design of the HBS is based on the principle of 'capture' in order to facilitate and thus increase consumption. By surrounding the bus station, the retailers create an environment which is more consumption-oriented than it used to be. While the design of the old Haymarket set some distance between the bus station and the retailers[2] which did not create a strong relation between the public space and the retailing activity, the new design of the bus station leads people who come, wait or leave the bus station, to purchase goods from the shops due to the close proximity of the passenger waiting area and the pedestrian passageway to the shops. Further, among the retailers in the new Haymarket, M&S acquires a significant privilege, since the design of the HBS leads the majority of the public to pass through the M&S' store, by providing a major passageway between the

[2] The distance which is referred here is the traffic road between the bus station and the small shops.

Haymarket, Northumberland Street and Eldon Square Shopping Centre. These design features not only help the retailers to significantly increase their customers, but also create a public space which serves as a means of increasing consumption more than it used to do. Thus, again it is possible to note the over-emphasis on the economic role of the public space through the new design of the bus station.

Figure 6.20. The close relationship between the shops and the pedestrian passageway and the passenger waiting area of the bus station

Another reason for the over-emphasis on the economic and symbolic roles of the HBS is the attempt of the recent development scheme to use the public space as a means to generate economic value for the private space surrounding it and thus to produce profit. In other words, the recent scheme has commercialised the public space to an extent, by using it as an instrument to produce profit for some groups, such as land and property owners, investors and developers of the private space around the Haymarket, and business interests operating around the Haymarket.

As mentioned above, while the design of the new HBS over-emphasises the economic and symbolic roles of the public space, the social, political and some of the physical roles of the public space are undermined. What are these components which undermine the social, socio-psychological, political and physical roles of the public space? First of all, as mentioned in section 3.4.2, the new design of the Haymarket has created a 'disciplined and 'ordered' environment, which has reduced the physical accessibility of the public space. By eliminating all uncertain or undesirable elements, such as noise, parking, traffic, smoke, bad weather conditions, and violence, which troubled the old bus station in the Haymarket, the new design has turned the bus station into, more or less, an ideal public space which, in reality, has never been so clean, disciplined, safe and stratified. In addition, the new design does not allow the elements of 'chance' and 'spontaneity' as much as the old bus station used to. Besides, the new design of the HBS seeks to push the undesirable population out of the HBS, and it restricts certain activities from occurring in

the HBS. This is because these people and activities are a potential threat toward: i) the increase in the maintenance cost of the public space; ii) the change in the safe, protected and ordered public space; iii) the image of a marketable commodity. Consequently, the new HBS has become an attractive setting particularly for groups which do not feel safe in a conventional public space. In this sense, the new bus station promotes and enhances social stratification and gentrification. In addition, it has turned into a comfortable environment which encourages shopping and other consumption activities; and it provides an 'ordered' and 'disciplined' space for the retailers at the Haymarket to operate smoothly away from thugs and muggers. Thus, the new HBS has become a good setting for consumption. Finally, the HBS has become a public space which improves the 'good' image of the city.

The use of the public spaces to improve the good image of the city or to generate economic value for the regeneration of an area are not detrimental acts, as long as they are used for the benefit of all segments of the population of the locality. In the case of the Haymarket, it should be noted that the development of a new retail development at the edge of a public space is valuable in terms of the creation of new jobs, generation of the new sources of growth for the economy of the city, and thus the development of the city. Yet, while bringing new economic values into the city, it is important to consider the impacts of this planning intervention on the local economy and small-scale local enterprises. In the case of the HBS, two big high street retailers were welcomed to the site, whereas the small retailers were displaced from the Haymarket. This creates an important controversy about how far the local authority took care of the interests of the local small enterprises within the context of their urban regeneration and city marketing strategies. It should be noted that the urban regeneration and city-marketing and re-imaging policies can be successful, as long as they generate and revitalise the local economic resources and powers. In this sense, the displacement of the local small enterprise from the Haymarket in favour of the large international retailers undermines the 'publicness' of the HBS public space improvement scheme.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the Haymarket has been embellished by the simulated décor of Victorian and American 'New Orleans' themes. The collage of these two themes causes a confusion over the symbolic meanings which the Haymarket represents for people from different class, gender and ethnicity backgrounds. The HBS has lost the images peculiar to its history and culture. Instead, it has attached imported, fragmented and grandiose images, which have never belonged to the modest old Haymarket. The manipulation of the images of the public spaces raises the questions of how far the new Haymarket will be appropriated by the public, and how far the new Haymarket will perform as a social binder. It should be noted that the public spaces, with

their images and symbols, are one of the social binders in a society. With the fragmented, imported and manufactured images, the public spaces cannot perform this role.

In addition, the new Haymarket Bus Station still has some physical problems which were not resolved through the new design. It has some design features which do not please the users of the public space, and do not favour the public interest. The following section explains these aspects of the new design of the HBS.

6.3.4.3.3.1 The lack or insufficient provision of some public facilities in the new bus station

Although the Policy T5.21 underlined the need to improve the bus station with regard to public facilities such as lifts, escalators, seats, toilets, baby changing facilities, lighting and ventilation, some of these facilities are still absent, while some others were not sufficiently or satisfactorily provided.

6.3.4.3.3.1.1 Toilets and baby changing facilities

Toilets and baby changing facilities are still the problems of the HBS. The new bus station accommodates a public toilet (the supaloo), but it is not a free-access facility. It does not contain baby changing facilities either. When the toilets and baby changing facilities provided in the M&S' store and the Old Orleans are considered, they are private. Although these facilities in the M&S' store is open to all throughout the opening hours of the store, there is no sign stating that the public toilet facilities of the bus station are provided within the M&S' store. The Old Orleans is completely against the use of their toilet and baby changing facilities by the public (Figure 6.21). In fact, the attempt to provide such public services within a private space blurs the 'publicness' of these public services. Hence, the insufficient provision of the toilet service and the limited public accessibility to this facility, and the absence of the baby changing facilities in the new bus station undermines the public interest.

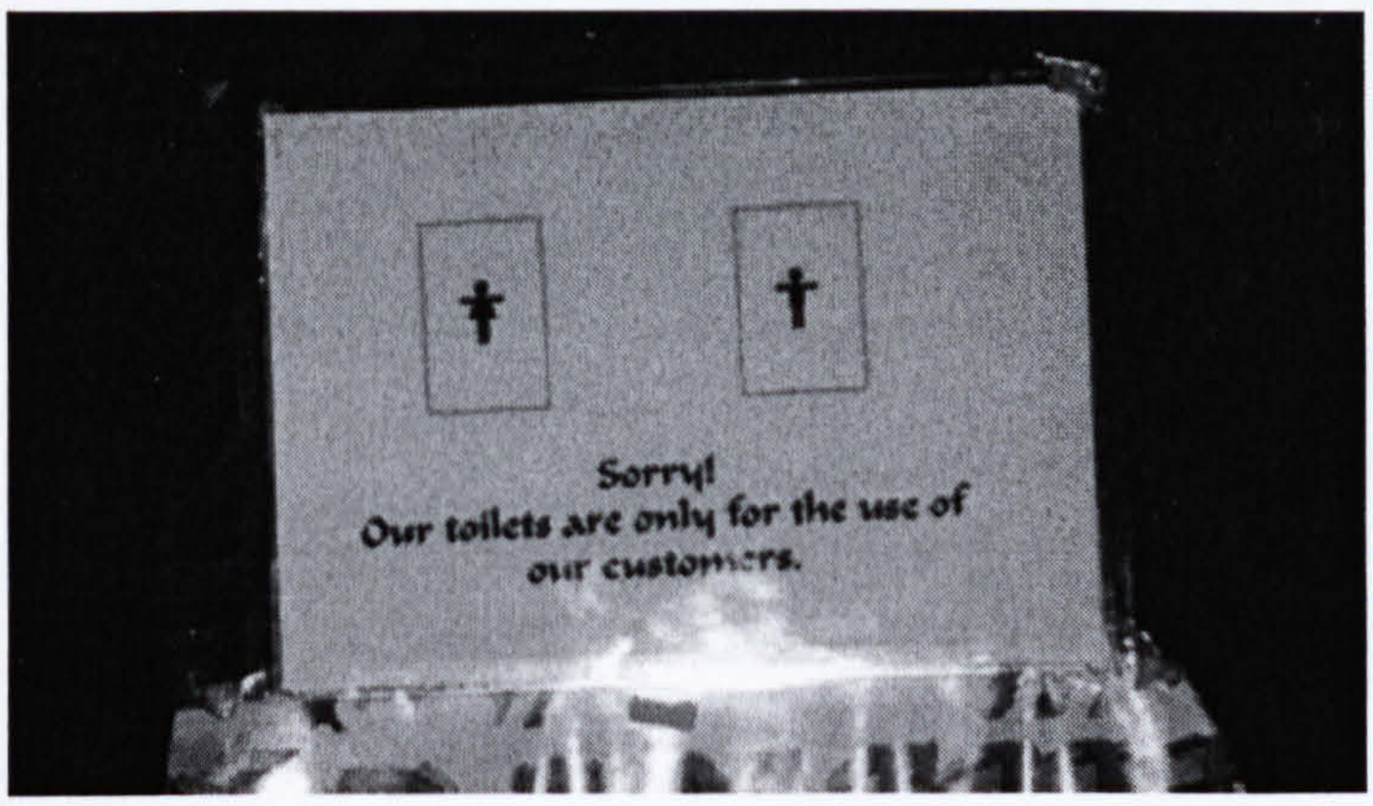

Figure 6.21. The notice on the door of the Old Orleans stating that their toilet and baby changing facilities are not for the public use

6.3.4.3.3.1.2 Eldon Square Staircase

Another public facility which has not been improved is the Eldon Square staircase (Figure 6.22). The Planning Chief of the NCC (2000) and a member of the design team of the local authority (2000) define it as an eyesore and the major failure of the HBS redevelopment scheme. Despite the significant need for a public passageway between the Haymarket and Northumberland Street, the new Haymarket still does not contain any public passageway. The passageway which is designed through the M&S' store is a space under the control of a private actor and it is only accessible when the store is open. The provision of the passageway under the control of a private actor and with a restricted accessibility blurs the 'publicness' of the idea of a public passageway. It also mainly favours the private interest, rather than the public interest. Eldon Square staircase is a sidepassage with a vague connection to the new Haymarket. It is also under the control of a private actor, i.e. Eldon Square Capital Shopping Centre plc., with limited accessibility. On the one hand, the accessibility of the staircase is limited, based on the opening and closing times of the shopping centre. On the other hand, it is inadequate in terms of the accessibility for disabled and elderly people, as well as wheelchair and pushchair users. The Planning Chief of the NCC (2000) states that although this is an important passageway from Northumberland Street to the bus station, it is not a user-friendly, or very well-maintained environment. These features of the passageway also reduce the 'publicness' of this public space.

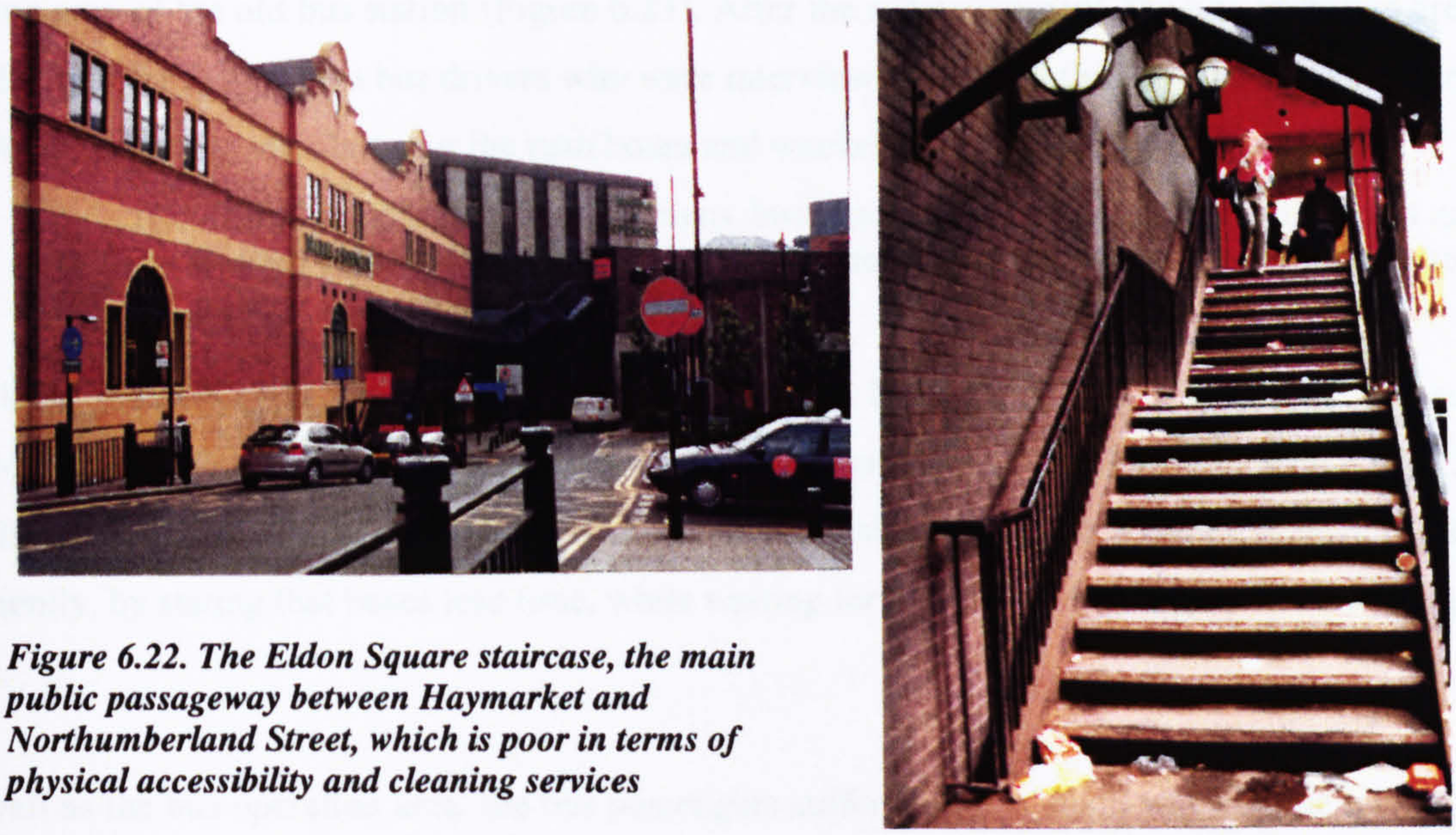

Figure 6.22. The Eldon Square staircase, the main public passageway between Haymarket and Northumberland Street, which is poor in terms of physical accessibility and cleaning services

One of the major reasons that the public authorities avoid providing such public facilities (like 24-hour public toilets, baby changing rooms, or the passageway) is that they are more likely to attract

undesirable groups, like the homeless and vandals and to increase the possibility of crime, such as rape. Thus, such people and activities would jeopardise the 'good image' of the Haymarket. Yet, what is the solution for avoiding crime and vandalism, and creating safer public spaces? Is it to avoid providing such genuinely needed public services and depriving the public of them? The lack of provision of such public services not only results in the deprivation of the public of such public services, but also creates new problems such as poor public hygiene which also jeopardises the 'good 'image' of the public space. In fact, one of the major problems of M&S is cleaning, due to the people who urinate around their premises at night (M&S Management).

6.3.4.3.3.1.3 Ventilation of the bus station

The HBS, which had a sheltering problem for the bus passengers before its redevelopment, now suffers from a ventilation problem. The sun starts to heat up the bus station from 2 o'clock in the afternoon. This creates a 'greenhouse' effect within the bus station (Design Team). As mentioned in the section 3.1.4, an objector pointed out this issue, and suggested the need for a wind tunnel study. The lack of sufficient concern about the ventilation of the bus station is an important sign of the absence of the public forum in the development process.

6.3.4.3.3.2 The small bus station

Another problem of the bus station is related to its size. The bus passengers, bus companies and the operator of the bus station used to suffer from the small operation area and the passenger waiting area of the old bus station (Figure 6.23). After the redevelopment, the bus operation area is still small for buses. Two bus drivers who were interviewed claimed that the bus operation area is not big enough, particularly for the rush hours and weekends.

> The design is wrong. There are many buses squashed in the bus station. ... It's not big enough for the buses coming into the station. ... It seems that the old bus station had more space. (Bus driver I, 2000)

Similarly, the officer of the Highway and Transportation Department (2000) states that the bus station is so small that the railing of the bus station has been damaged by the buses which reverse out. In addition, the planning officer of NEXUS (2000) claims that the bus station does not work efficiently, by stating that buses lose time, while waiting for each other on the lane outside the bus bays.

As well as the bus operation area, the bus passengers suffer from the small size and the layout of the passenger waiting area. The Officer of the Highway and Transportation Department (2000) claims that the bus passenger area is also small for such a busy bus station. At peak times, the bus station is packed with people. This is partly because of the linear queuing system. Figure 6.24, which illustrates one of the busiest times in the bus station, shows that some passenger queues

extend out of the waiting area and occupy the pedestrian walkway, while others are empty. Here, the strict and rigid design leads to the inefficient use of the bus passenger area and causes inconveniences for pedestrians who cross the bus station and bus passengers who wait in the queue. In these aspects, the new design of the bus passenger area was unable to improve the bus station.

Figure 6.23. The bus operation area on a match day when Newcastle United were playing

Figure 6.24. The bus passenger waiting area on a match day when Newcastle United were playing

The narrow pedestrian walkway in the bus station also creates inconvenience for the bus pedestrians and bus passengers (Figure 6.25).

Figure 6.25. The pedestrian walking area on a match day when Newcastle United were playing

6.3.4.3.3.3 The traffic jam in Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street

Another continuous problem related to the Haymarket is traffic congestion (Figures 6.26 and 6.27). Despite the redevelopment of the site, traffic congestion is still one of the major problems of the Haymarket. The traffic congestion is caused by the cars which stop on Percy Street to get in and out of the multi-storey car park, the cars of the M&S' customers which create an extra load on the traffic of the site, and the taxis and the buses which try to operate in the same site, particularly during the peak hours of the week time, the weekends, the days that the football games are played, and Christmas time (NEXUS; ARRIVA; Bus driver I; Bus driver II; Taxi driver I; Taxi driver II; M&S Management; Eldon Square Capital Shopping Centre Management). Both the planning officer of NEXUS (2000) and the commercial director of ARRIVA (2000) admit that the bus station does not operate efficiently due to the traffic congestion in Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street. They assert (2000) that buses and bus passengers may have to wait for up to forty-five minutes to exit the bus station.

Figure 6.26. The traffic jam in Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street, including Percy Street on a match day when Newcastle United were playing

Figure 6.2.7. The traffic in Percy Street on a match day when Newcastle United were playing

6.3.4.3.3.4 Conflict between pedestrian and vehicular traffic

The old bus station used to suffer from the conflict between pedestrian and vehicular traffic which created a significantly unsafe and unhealthy environment for the public. This was not only generated by the layout of the old bus station, but also the poor connections between the design of the bus station and its surrounding activities and facilities. Today, the same problem is present.

The bus station was not designed with regard to the vehicular and pedestrian capacity and movement on Percy Street. Here, the major question is why the design of the bus station leads the people (even those who do not take a bus or go shopping) to the inside of the bus station. On some days, particularly the days when Newcastle United play, large groups of people walk from the stadium toward the Haymarket (Figure 6.25). Since the pedestrian walkway on both sides of Percy Street is narrow, the crowd generally walk and even run on the street. This creates a big conflict between pedestrians and vehicles. As well as the problem of the narrow walkway on Percy Street, when the crowd arrive at the Haymarket, some people do not follow the walkway, which leads them to the bus station. They walk beside the railing of the bus station, and create significant safety problems. This is another pedestrian-vehicular conflict which the design of the new bus station could not resolve. However, if there was an alternative walkway along the bus station (that is, between the bus station and the highway of Percy Street), people would not need to walk on the street.

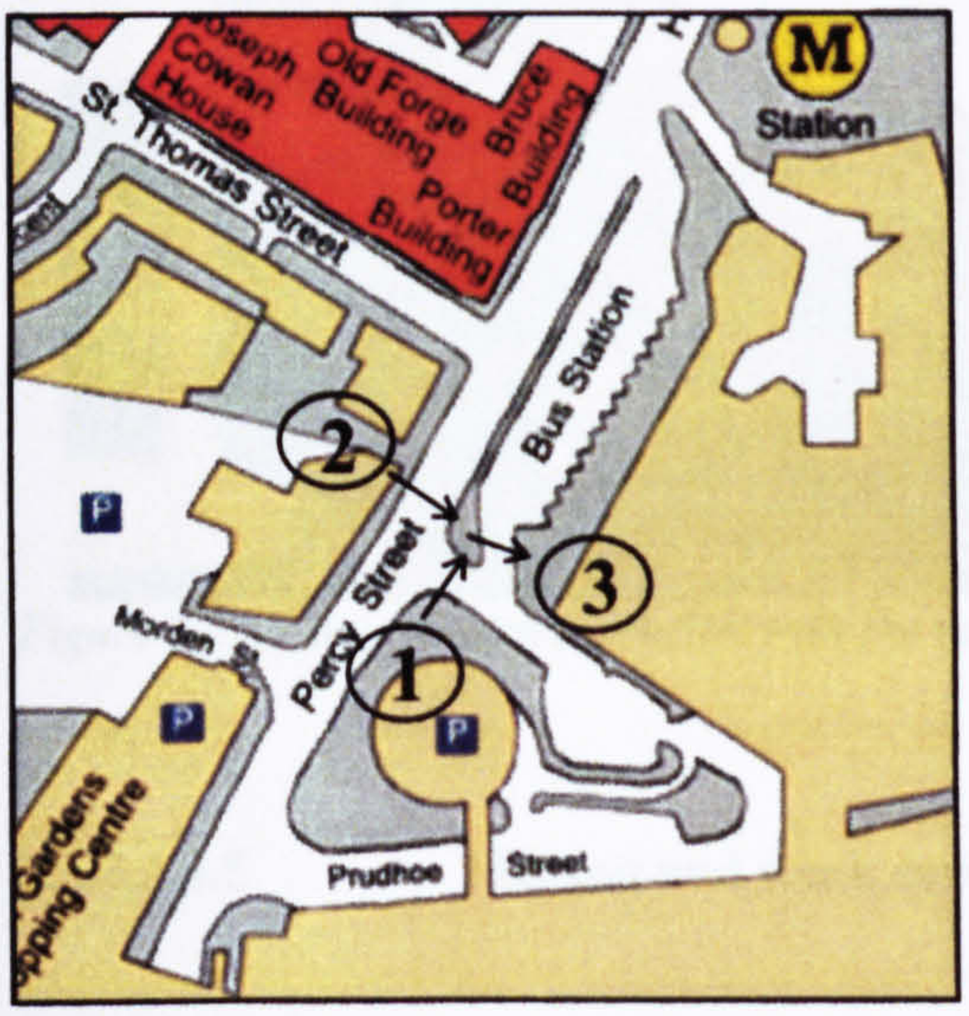

Figure 6.28. Three major areas which create dangerous conditions for pedestrians and vehicles

Another conflict between pedestrians and vehicles takes place on the side where Percy Street meets Prudhoe Place. Here, the design of the bus station creates three places where pedestrians and vehicles meet (Figure 6.28). The first is from the beginning of Prudhoe Place to the pedestrian island. The second is from the island to the other side of Percy Street. The last one is from the island to the bus station. These three places where vehicles and pedestrians meet create dangerous conditions. When big groups of people move along together on Percy Street, the people at the back of the groups cannot see the front of the crowd and keep pushing them forward, while the design of the bus station leads the public to stop by the traffic lights in these three places where pedestrian-vehicular traffic meets. The result is that the people waiting for the traffic lights, have to walk on to the vehicular highway, and thus they create very serious safety problems for both themselves and vehicles. Figure 6.29 illustrates this problem, particularly by showing the people jumping over the railings, and walking in front of or at the back of the buses and other vehicles.

Figure 6.29. The pedestrian conflict with the vehicular traffic

6.3.4.3.3.5 Missing and weak connections of the bus station with its surroundings

Some of the problems which are mentioned earlier, such as the pedestrian and vehicular conflict in and around the bus station, the Eldon Square staircase with a limited connection to

Northumberland Street are mainly related to the piecemeal planning approach which was used in the development of the HBS. This approach mainly considered the HBS scheme area as a piece of land partly fragmented from the rest of the city centre, and designed the site to some extent as a self-sufficient and self-contained site. In other words, it disregarded the relation of the site with the other public spaces, some of the important elements and landmarks surrounding it, such as Northumberland Street, Eldon Square Bus Concourse, and St. James Park. The lack of relation of the recent HBS scheme has not only brought about the problems which were mentioned above, but also has given rise to a public space which has missing and weak connections with the public spaces of the city centre, the major urban landmarks and the important zones and sites. In relation to this problem of the HBS, a new debate has recently started about the integration of the HBS and Eldon Square Bus Concourse on Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street, which will lead to the creation of a new bus station (Author unknown, 2002d: 3; Author unknown, 2002e). This is mainly an indication of the lack of a comprehensive planning and regeneration strategy for the whole city centre and the public spaces of the city centre. With public space improvement schemes which consider public spaces as urban fragments rather than complementary parts of a whole public space system in the city centre, such as the recent HBS scheme, it is not possible to develop public spaces which serve the whole city and all segments of the population of the city. Hence, the public interest is significantly undermined. In this sense, the case of the HBS scheme is a significant example.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter sought to discuss the 'publicness' of the development and use processes of the HBS which was redeveloped in the 1990s within the context of the city centre regeneration and revitalisation policies and the city-marketing and re-imaging strategies. As one of the busiest public spaces of the city and one of the closest spots to the high street of Newcastle, the HBS suffered from unattractive, chaotic, unorganised, crowded, and filthy conditions, but provided a lively and colourful social atmosphere which was created by the variety and diversity of its users. This study revealed that, with the recent public space improvement scheme, the HBS was used as a significant tool in the regeneration and revitalisation of the northern end of the city centre, as well as in the construction of Newcastle's new images as the 'capital of the region', the 'service city', the 'working city' and the 'city of transport and communication'. This research also found that, with the recent improvement scheme, the HBS has turned into a means of increasing consumption and generating profit for certain groups. Further, since the recent scheme took place, the HBS has performed as a means of increasing consumption more than it used to do.

Consequently, it has turned into a good-looking and well-maintained, but less 'public' space, compared to the old one.

The basis of this end was partly prepared by the macro-scale planning policies. They sought to develop a safer, attractive, pedestrian-friendly, and physically accessible public space. Yet, promoting the HBS as exchange material for the provision of a new bus station, they encouraged to some extent the commodification of the bus station and its environs. Additionally, based on the property-led regeneration strategies which promoted the private sector involvement in the redevelopment of the HBS, they opened up the way for privatising the provision of the public space at the Haymarket to a degree. Further, by opening up the site of the public space to a retail development, the macro-scale policies encouraged the commercialisation of the public space. These policies led to the reduction in the 'publicness' of the HBS to some extent.

These macro-scale policies partly influenced the recent development scheme. The bus station and its surroundings were redeveloped through a public-private partnership. Private actors (particularly the developer and landowners of the site, the large business interests, the professional consultants and the construction companies) provided the planning, design and construction of the HBS. This led the provision of the public space to be partly privatised, the public-private distinction of the space to be blurred, and therefore the 'publicness' of the development process of the HBS to be reduced to some degree. Nonetheless, the bus station is still in public ownership. This is a significant feature, which secures the 'publicness' of the public space. Additionally, the presence of the public actors (especially the local authority and the operator of the bus station) in the development process of the HBS increased the 'publicness' of the development process of the public space. Apart from the collaborative, facilitating and co-ordinating roles, the NCC in particular played a leading role in the design of the public and private space. Their presence in the development process brought about a highly accessible, safer, healthier, good-looking and well-operated public space. With their regulatory role, they led the public consultation to take place, monitored the development process very closely and made sure that the development process was carried out according to the regulations, plan and design briefs. These are the aspects that increased the 'publicness' of the HBS. Moreover, with their entrepreneurial role, they exchanged an old, chaotic, and filthy bus station with an attractive, organised and high-capacity one. In these aspects, the local authority produced a significant deal of benefit on behalf of the public. This is another notable aspect which increased the 'publicness' of the development process of the HBS.

Nevertheless, the examination of the development and management processes of the HBS revealed that the local authority used their regulatory power more to produce a 'good-looking'

and 'well-maintained' public space than to provide a 'well-functioning' public space. This attitude of the local authority driven by their entrepreneurial role reinforced the economic and symbolic roles of the public space; but undermined its physical, social and political roles. In addition, they used their collaborative, facilitating, co-ordinating and regulatory power to favour more the private interest and their political interest than the public interest. This is a significant aspect which decreased the 'publicness' of the development process of the public space.

Regarding the decrease in the 'publicness' of the HBS, another finding of this research is the insufficient involvement of the primary and daily users in the development process of the public space. In other words, the analysis of the 'publicness' of the HBS also revealed that the 'publicness' of the public space improvement scheme is undermined, since a large part of the public was mostly absent in the development process. The planning and design process was mainly open to a small group of private and public actors, ranging from the developers and landowners of the site, large business interests, professional consultants to the local authority and the operator of the bus station. The presence of the public consultation increased the 'publicness' of the development process of the HBS, since it was the major opportunity for the public to raise their voice about the public space scheme. Yet, the public consultation did not provide a discussion forum or an arena to exchange opinions about the public space between the public and public authorities. It was rather a one-way process of expressing the view of the public. The absence of a public forum where the public and public actors expressed and exchanged their opinions and influenced the design of the bus station to be built, undermined the 'publicness' of the planning and design process. Additionally, the 'publicness' of the development of the HBS was undermined, since an extensive public consultation, such as public survey or interviews, was not carried out. Further, despite the big number of users from various social groups, only a small number of actors from the public were involved in the formal public consultation. Moreover, despite the presence of the public objections which pointed out significant issues regarding the public interest and the public reactions against the development scheme concerning the destruction of the public house, the lack of concern of the local authority on these issues undermined the 'publicness' of the development process of the HBS. There was, therefore, a significant absence of a public forum in which the public and the public actors could express, exchange and influence their opinions on the design of the public space that was to be built. This reduced the accessibility of all segments of the public to the activities and discussions or intercommunications, and information of the development process of the HBS, and thus undermined the 'publicness' of the development process.

The analysis of the public consultation process also showed that the NCC collaborated with the operator of the bus station and the large business interests, rather than all segments of the public. This attitude of the local authority also undermined the 'publicness' of the development process of the HBS.

After the completion of the redevelopment scheme, the Haymarket has become an attractive, cleaner, safer and healthier public space, as well as highly accessible for disabled and elderly people and wheelchair and pushchair users. It is still one of the busiest public spaces of the city centre. A great number of diverse groups use this public space. More than anything, it is a source of pride for the citizens of Newcastle. In these aspects, the redevelopment scheme has significantly improved the 'publicness' of the HBS.

The investigation of the management and maintenance process revealed that the new bus station and its surroundings have been managed, maintained and controlled by the public actors. This is a significant component which increased the 'publicness' of the new bus station. Yet, there are some components which have partly privatised the management and maintenance of the public space, such as the contribution of private actors (especially large business interests which included high-street retailers and bus companies) to the management costs of the public space, their intervention into the operation of the space, and the provision of the public transportation services. These aspects have reduced the 'publicness' of the HBS.

Another significant finding of this research is the increasing care and control of the public actors on the HBS through the management policies when compared to the old one. The increase in the control imposed on the public space has gone in parallel with image-led regeneration strategies which targeted the promotion of Newcastle as the 'service city', the 'regional capital', and the 'city of transport and communication'. It has created a peaceful, safe and attractive public space for the public. In this sense, it has served the public interest. Yet, the increase in the control on the HBS has pushed certain groups out of the bus station, to restrict certain activities from occurring in the public space, and thus promoted gentrification, social stratification and fragmentation, and social exclusion to some extent. This has resulted in a decrease in the physical accessibility of the bus station, and thus a decrease in its 'publicness'. Additionally, by increasing the control on the public space, the management policies have tended to emphasise the symbolic and economic roles of the HBS, however, while undermining its physical, psychological, social and political roles. This is another aspect which undermined the 'publicness' of the public space.

As far as the physical accessibility of the new bus station is concerned, this research found that the new design has decreased the accessibility of the bus station. First of all, the new design resulted in the departure of the small and moderate retailers (mainly small local business interests) from the Haymarket, and thus pushed the user groups of these retailers (i.e., budget shoppers) out of the HBS. Instead, it has attracted more affluent groups due to the presence of the up-market retailers (mainly big national business interests), as well as the new design features which have promoted the feeling of affluence. This has mainly brought about gentrification. Additionally, the new design features have imposed 'order' and 'discipline' on the HBS and dictated some restrictions on the activities which can take place in the public space, discouraged some groups from coming to the Haymarket and thus decreased the physical accessibility of the bus station. This consequently has led to social stratification and exclusion.

Concerning the interest of the actors, this research showed that the new design of the HBS is highly beneficial for the private actors. The key actors which were involved in the development of the HBS (i.e. M&S as the developer, one of the main land owners and large business interests, S&N Breweries as another landowner and large business interest, the construction companies and other businesses related to the construction works, and the planning and design consultants) are the major beneficiaries of the HBS scheme. The street trader, hackney carriages and bus companies as the key users of the public space have benefited by keeping their position in such an exclusive-looking site. Similarly, the new tenants of the retail development are the beneficiaries of the scheme by gaining a position in such an exclusive and prestigious-looking environment. The retailers, street trader, hackney carriages and bus companies also benefited from the new public space which provided them with a more organised and disciplined environment in which to trade. As well as these private actors, up-market retailers, property and land owners, developers and investors of the private space around the Haymarket have benefited and will benefit because of the improved image of the site through the recent development scheme. Additionally, in a broader context, the improved image of the Haymarket, which has increased the development activities in the private space around this part of the city centre, is benefiting and will benefit business interests in the financial industry, the construction industry and estate agents. The only group of private actors which could not gain any benefit from the HBS improvement scheme is the small and local business interests (i.e. the tenants of the retail units trading at the Haymarket and Prudhoe Place before the development scheme took place).

As far as the interest of the public actors is concerned, this research revealed that, by becoming a remarkable example of the success of the local authority in urban regeneration and city-marketing policies, the HBS scheme has significantly served their political credit in the eyes of the public. It

has also enhanced the public interest, by contributing to the regeneration of this part of the city centre. Additionally, the scheme represents the entrepreneurial achievement of the local authority, which finalised a highly profitable deal with the private sector by exchanging the old bus station with the new one at almost no cost to them. The research showed that the scheme is also beneficial for NEXUS, since it has brought about a better operating bus station and thus a higher revenue for the bus station operator.

As far as the public interest is concerned, the new bus station has also benefited the public. Turning from a filthy, ugly, run-down and unorganised into a good-looking, well-maintained, well-organised, pedestrian-friendly and healthy public space at no cost to the public, the redevelopment of the HBS has considerably improved the public interest. Nevertheless, this research also found that, by promoting the economic and symbolic roles of the HBS, the recent public space improvement scheme has used the bus station as a means of regenerating the northern end of the city centre, and an instrument for building a new and positive image for Newcastle to find itself new niches in the urban markets. Additionally, this research revealed that the recent scheme has not only turned the HBS into a means of increasing consumption more than it used to be, but also has commercialised it to an extent by turning it into an entity which generates profit for certain groups. As a result, the recent scheme of the HBS created a public space where the economic and symbolic roles were over-emphasised, while the social, political and some of the physical roles were undermined. The new HBS, with the over-emphasis of its economic and symbolic roles, favours the public interest less than it used to do.

One of the major reasons for this outcome is the lack of a public forum in the development of the HBS. The main design principles of the HBS, which gave the major characteristics of the site, were not determined in the public forum through discussions or intercommunications between the public and public actors. In other words, they were not the outcome of the reconciliation with, or the consent of, the majority of public and private actors. In the development process, the absence of the public arena, which was open to all, led certain actors to dominate the decision-making process of the design of the HBS. This resulted in a design which favours the private interest more than the old bus station used to do, and a public space which serves the public interest less than it used to do.

Chapter 7: The 'publicness' of the Grey's Monument Area

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the 'publicness' of the development and use processes of Grey's Monument Area (GMA), which has recently been redeveloped within the Grainger Town (GT) Project. The scheme, which has made a remarkable change in Grey Street and its surroundings, represents one of the major public space improvement schemes of the 1990s in Newcastle. The GMA scheme exemplifies one of the major public space improvement projects, which aims at regenerating the nineteenth-century historical core of the city centre of Newcastle. Additionally, it provides a fine example as a public space which is promoted as a cultural and historical legacy of Newcastle in order to construct the new image of the city. This chapter, which seeks to examine the 'publicness' of the recent GMA scheme, starts with the description of the location, the history, as well as the physical, social, political, economic and symbolic roles, and the problems of the GMA before the improvement scheme began. Then, it analyses the 'publicness' of the development scheme under four stages: i) planning and design, ii) construction, iii) management and maintenance, and iv) use through the criteria 'access', 'actors' and 'interest'. The third section of this chapter concludes the findings of the analysis of the 'publicness' of the GMA improvement scheme.

7.2 The Grey's Monument Area before the recent redevelopment

7.2.1 The location of the Grey's Monument Area

The GMA is located at the heart of the city centre. It stands at the junction of three main thoroughfares; i.e. Grainger Street, Grey Street and Blackett Street; and links the north and south, west and east of the city centre. The GMA stretches to the south on Grey Street, which runs in the north-south direction, from Blackett Street and Mosley Street, joins Dean Street and thus links the northern part of the city centre to the Quayside. Standing at the northern end of Grainger Street, which is the main thoroughfare between the Central Station and the heart of the city centre, the GMA links the north and southwest of the city centre. Further, lying at the south of Blackett

Street, which runs in the east-west direction, the GMA is the major intersection of the east and west sides of the city centre.

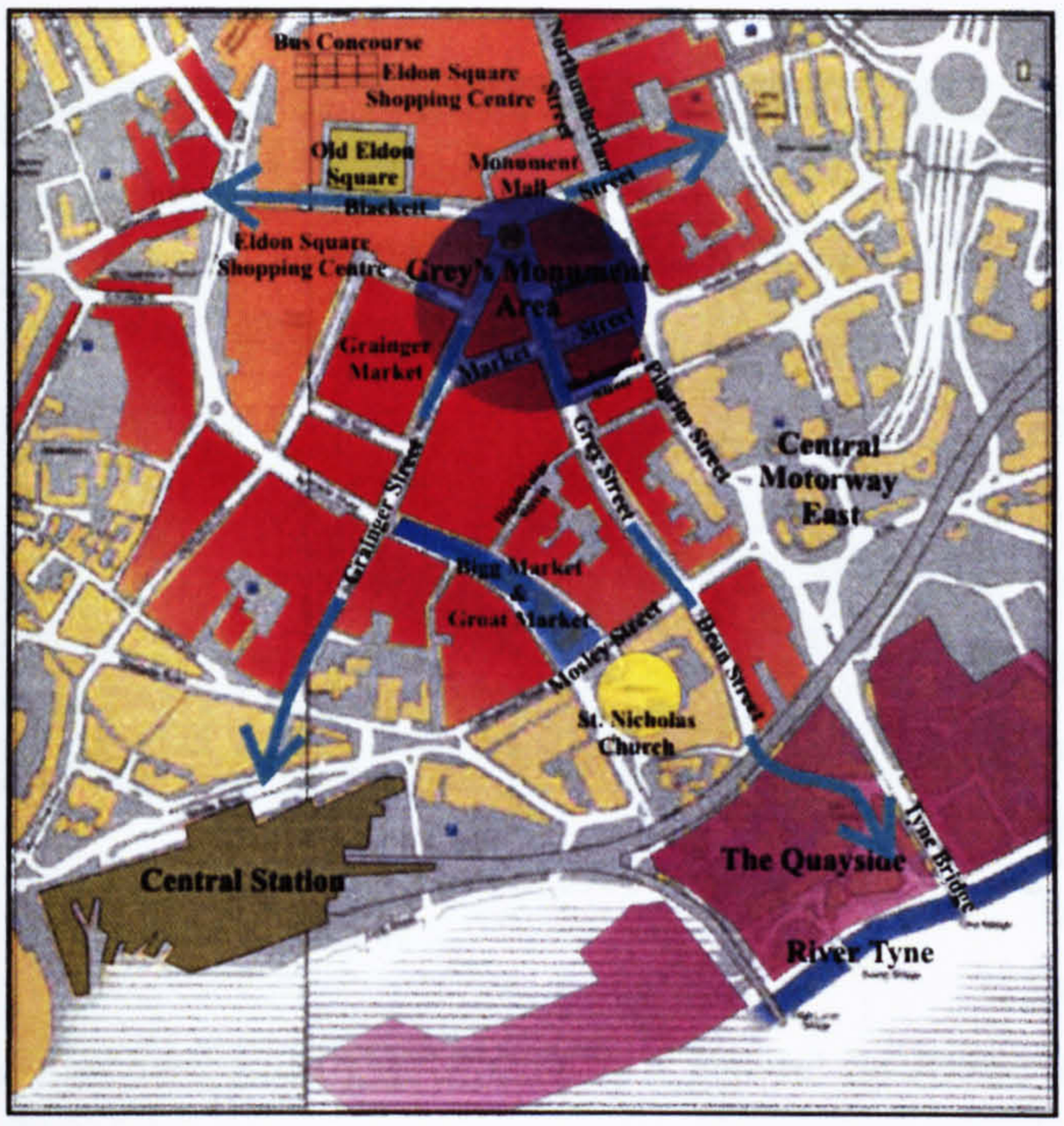

Figure 7.1. The central and southern parts of the city centre and the location of the GMA

Northumberland Street, the high street of Newcastle, is located at the northwest of the GMA. To the north, the old Eldon Square, which is one of the major green public spaces of the city centre, Eldon Square Shopping Centre, bus concourse and Monument Mall dominate the GMA. To the west, the GMA faces Eldon Square Shopping Centre, and is the neighbour of Grainger Market, which is the commercial hub of the nineteenth-century historical city centre. To the southwest, the main neighbours of the GMA are the Bigg Market and the Groat Market, which were once the prominent open markets of the city, and now the well-known destinations of night clubbers, and St. Nicholas Cathedral on Mosley Street. To the east, the GMA is the neighbour of Pilgrim Street, which runs in parallel with Grey Street, joins the Central Motorway East and the Tyne Bridge, and crosses the River Tyne. There are various streets which intersect Grey Street. From north to south, these streets are High Friar Lane, Hood Street, Market Street, Shakespeare Street, High Bridge Street and Mosley Street respectively.

7.2.2 The history of Grey's Monument Area

7.2.2.1 The pre-industrial period

The GMA, particularly Grey Street, has a long history, dating back to the Middle Ages. The site, where Grey Street is, originally was a valley, through which a stream, named 'Lort Burn', used to flow (Graham, 1976: 49). This was a navigable stream, along which there were small quays (Bean, 1971: 68). In the early Middle Ages, the banks of the Lort Burn were covered by warehouses and residences of merchants (Bean, 1971: 68). There were two religious houses by the name of 'The Franciscan Friary' and 'St. Bartholomew's (Benedictine) Nunnery', standing within extensive precincts at the north of this valley (Pevsner, 1992: 481; The Conservation

Practice, et. al., 1992). By 1580, Robert Anderson, who was a wealthy merchant, bought these precincts, demolished these religious houses and rebuilt a house with a beautiful garden (Graham, 1976: 49; Pevsner, 1992: 481; The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992). After then, the site was called 'Anderson Place' (Pevsner, 1992: 481; The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992) (Figure 7.2).

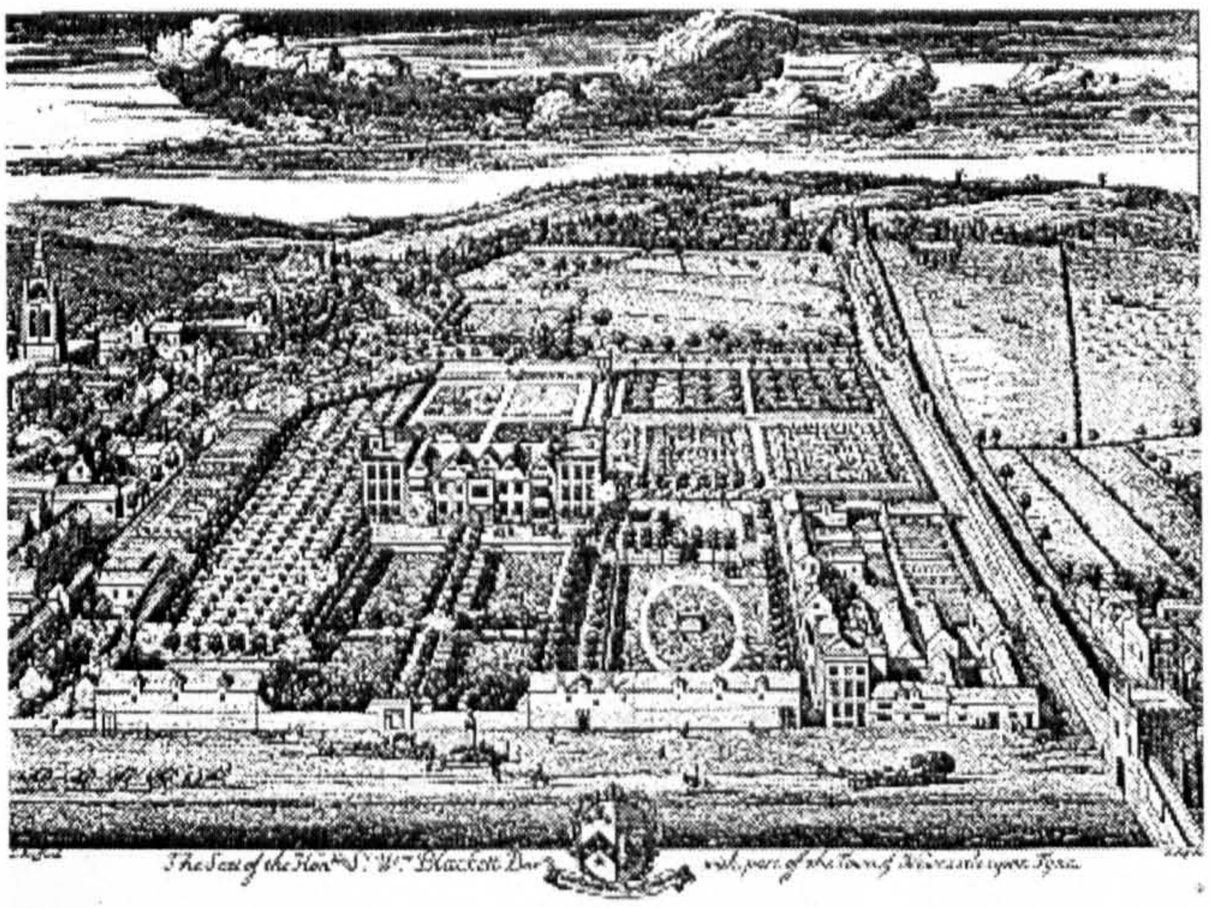

Figure 7.2. Anderson Place in 1702 (Source: Middlebrook, 1950: 5)

As time went on, the banks of the Lort Burn were gradually overbuilt, overcrowded, and then allowed to decay (Bean, 1971: 68). In the early 17th century, the Lort Burn, which was no longer big enough to serve as a port-within-port, started to be used as a general tip (Bean, 1971: 68). In a short while, it became a filthy and unpleasant environment. As a result, a paved roadway was constructed over it in 1696 (Bean, 1971: 68; Hearnshaw, 1971: 106).

7.2.2.2 The industrial period

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the economy of Newcastle increasingly grew. In the 19th century, Richard Grainger, who was a local developer, was influenced by Nash's London developments, and wanted to develop a new commercial centre, which would bring sophistication to Newcastle, with a classical grandeur in architecture combined with Picturesque planning (Pevsner, 1992: 107; Pearson, 1996: 24). He purchased Anderson Place in 1832, and planned to develop this large central area as a new city centre, with the help of several architects and the approval of the Common Council (Graham, 1976: 49; Pevsner, 1992: 106). The new commercial centre, which is now called 'Grainger Town', was built by 1839, and made Newcastle famous as the only major city in England with a planned commercial centre of that date, with shops below houses, workshops and offices (Pevsner, 1992: 415).

Grey Street was developed as a part of this new commercial centre scheme. Several architects took part in the design of the street. John Dobson designed the stretch on the east side between Shakespeare Street and Mosley Street, while John and Benjamin Green were responsible for the whole block between Shakespeare Street and Market Street, including the new Theatre Royal

(Cadogan, 1975: 108; Pevsner, 1992: 487; Pearson, 1996: 24). John Wardle and George Walker designed the remainder of the street (Pevsner, 1992: 487).

After the preparation of the architectural schemes, Anderson Place and the old Theatre Royal were pulled down, the middle reaches of the Lort Burn were filled, and Grey Street, which was to accommodate mostly local sandstone buildings, was built (Hearnshaw, 1971: 111; Graham, 1976: 49; Manders, 1995c: 30; Pearson, 1996: 24). Richard Grainger originally planned to build the Seven Dials Circus, a circular open space like Piccadilly Circus, at the place of Grey's Monument as the focus of the new city centre (Pearson, 1996: 25; Lowie, 2000: 3) (Figure 7.3). He intended to build new law courts near the top of Grey Street (Pearson, 1996: 25). Yet, the public in Newcastle objected to this idea, and demanded a monument in Grey Street for the commemoration of Earl Grey of Howick who was Northumberland's own prime minister responsible for the passing of the Great Reform Bill in 1832 which enlarged the franchise and restructured parliamentary representation (Graham, 1976: 49; Pearson, 1996: 25). Subsequently, the Common Council commissioned Benjamin Green to build the monument, which was designed and built in 1838 as a Roman Doric column, 41 metres in height, standing on a tall pedestal (Pevsner, 1992: 481; Pearson, 1996: 25). There is a balcony above the capital and then a square pedestal for the statue of Earl Grey which was designed by Edward Hodges Baily (Hearnshaw, 1971: 111; Pevsner, 1992: 481; Public Art, 1999: 27).

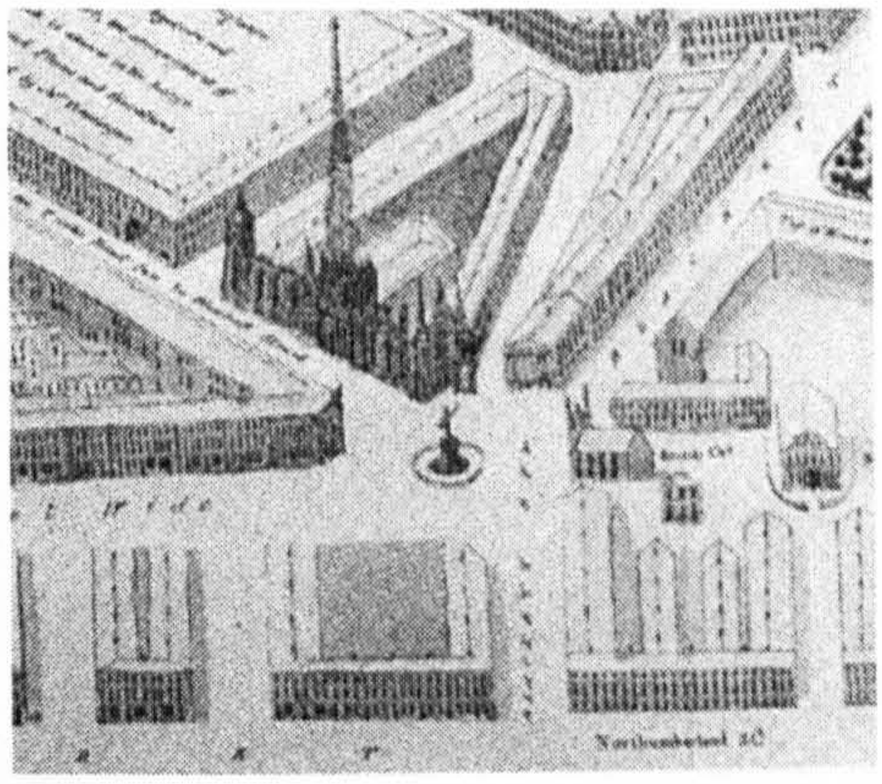

Figure 7.3. Richard Grainger's original plan, showing Seven Dials Circus (Source: Lovie, 2000: 3)

In the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century, few buildings were added to Grey Street. For example, the United Presbyterian Chapel was built on the north side of Blackett Street, to the north of Grey's Monument, and opened in 1858 (Manders, 1995c: 31) (Figure 7.4). Fifty years later, the Chapel was knocked down, and replaced by Emerson Chambers in 1903 to be used as a restaurant, shops and offices (Pevsner, 1992: 483; Manders, 1995c: 31). Eldon Building, which stands at the junction of Grey Street and Blackett Street, was constructed in 1893, while its neighbour, Gem House, was built in 1904 (Pevsner, 1992: 483). Exchange Buildings, which is situated at the top of Grey Street, was built by Richard Grainger in 1837 (Graham, 1976: 49). This triangular-shaped building, with triple-domed edifice, was designed by John Wardle (Pearson, 1996: 25). The building, which once housed an Art Gallery, News Rooms and a theatre called The Vaudeville, was destroyed by the fire of the end of the 19th century and was converted to the

Central Arcade in 1906 (Graham, 1976: 49; Pearson, 1996: 25). The interior of the Central Arcade was designed by Joseph and Harold Oswald, local architects, creating a 'heavenly little byway' with its mosaic floor and glass barrel-vault roof, which "is glistening Burmantofts faience in shades of browns and yellows: huge panels, little niches, grotesque animal heads and elegant lettering around" (Pearson, 1996: 25).

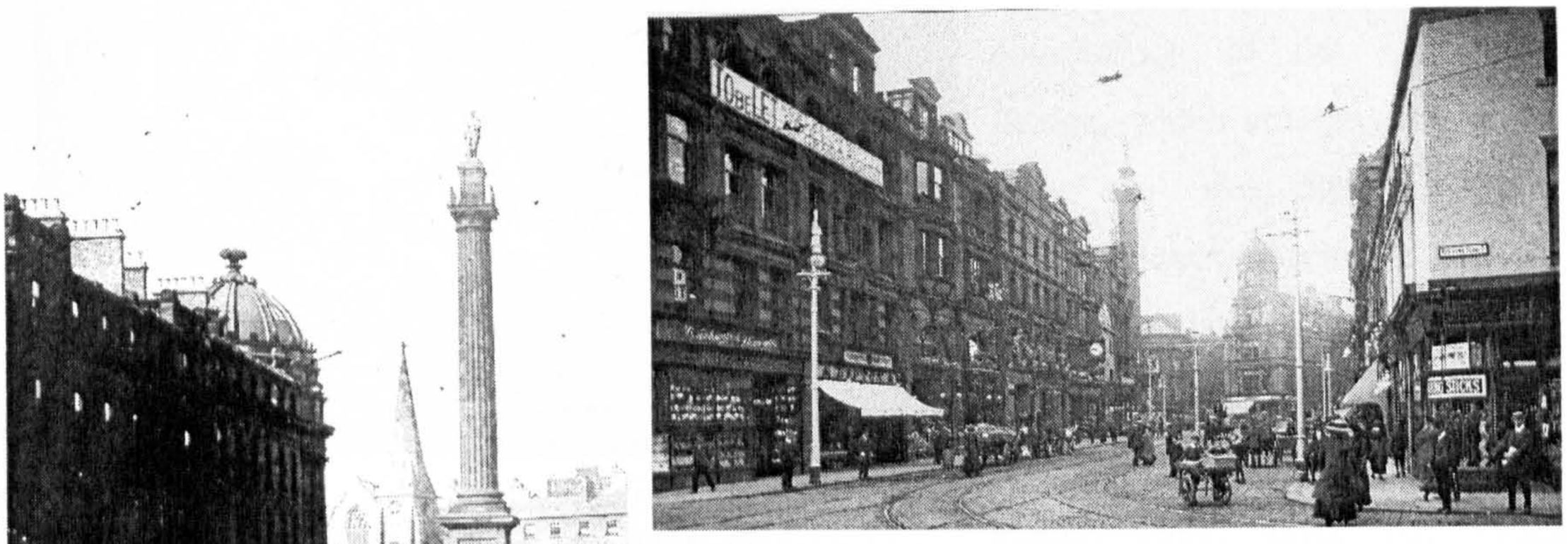

Figure 7.4: Upper Grey Street and the Grey Monument about 1865 (left) and Blackett Street in 1911 as a street which linked east and west through the City's main shopping area, passing the Grey's Monument (top). The street includes Eldon Buildings and Gem House. (Source: Manders, 1995c: 30-31; Manders, 1995a: 12)

When Grey Street was completed, it was considered as one of the most beautiful streets in England. Pevsner notes the beauty of the street as follows:

> Grey Street is no doubt the best of Grainger's city streets, and one of the best streets in England. It curves gently as it rises, and both of these difficulties have been turned into assets. As early as 1838, before the street was completely finished, an observer remarked 'The proportion and correspondence of every part in the whole, and the admirably grand effect produced by the perspective view from Mosley Street, are calculated to impress the beholder with indelible surprise'. (Pevsner, 1992: 487)

In the 19th century, Grey Street was one of the prestigious shopping streets in Newcastle. Manders (1995a: 30) describes the shops in Grey Street and Market Street as the most 'extensive and elegant', among the estimated 320 new shops added to the town's stock by Richard Grainger's developments of the 1830s and 1840s. Grey Street was not only a shopping street, but also the major leisure centre of Newcastle with the entertainment programmes of inns and hotels, the Theatre Royal and music halls (Middlebrook, 1950: 304-305; Foster, 1995). The fame of the street continued during the early 20th century with the introduction of cinemas into the landscape of Grey Street (Middlebrook, 1950: 307). Moreover, Grey Street became the heart of commercial and business activities, by turning into the financial centre of the city, particularly with the headquarters of the banks which moved to Grey Street by 1890 (Middlebrook, 1950: 263).

Figure 7.5. Grey Street at the end of the 19th century as a lively and busy street (Source: Graham, 1976: 49)

Despite its fame and glamour, the heydays of Grey Street came to an end in the first half of the 20th century. Grey Street started to decline in 1925 due to the construction of the new Tyne Bridge, which changed the traffic flow on Grey Street towards Pilgrim Street, Blackett Street and Northumberland Street and consequently led the street to lose its vitality (Cadogan, 1975: 111; Foster, 1995: xxii). The 1950s ambitious plan of T. Dan Smith accelerated this decline. The planning policies of both The 1951 Urban Development Plan and The 1963 Development Plan Review encouraged the growth of the northern part of the city centre as the new retail core (Newcastle City Council, 1963: 54-68; Newcastle City Council, 1985: 45). Particularly Eldon Square Shopping Centre, which was developed in 1975, caused the prime retail core of the city to move to the north and led the nineteenth-century city centre, including Grey Street, to be increasingly marginalized as a retail location (EDAW, 1996: 10-11; Simpson, et. al., 1997).

The 1970s economic crisis, which led to the economic base of Newcastle to erode, the unemployment to increase, the city centre to lose its working and living population, and the urban fabric to be deteriorated, also hit Grey Street (Pevsner, 1992: 417; Healey, et. al., 2002: 41). Grey Street, which was built as one of striking streets of the city centre in terms of architectural features at the beginning of the 19th century and became the shopping, leisure and business centre of Newcastle throughout the 19th century, turned, therefore, into a declining site during the 20th century. In the early 1980s, Grey Street suffered from the classic symptoms of the decline of historic urban quarters. Vacant spaces, particularly upper floors, rapid turnover of occupiers, a weak property market characterised by hope value, traffic congestion and limited provision of car-parking, poor quality public space, a lack of developer, investor and occupier confidence were the major problems of Grey Street (EDAW, 1996: 19).

7.2.2.3 The post-industrial period

Starting from the early 1980s, a number of actions were taken in order to improve the public and private spaces of Grey Street. First, the northern end of Grey Street from Grey's Monument to Hood Street was pedestrianised in 1980 (Newcastle City Council, 1963: 54-68; Newcastle City Council, 1985: 45) (Figure 7.7). Then, various regeneration schemes were launched. The earliest regeneration schemes were carried out under the control of the local authority and based on the 'conservation-led' regeneration policies (EDAW, 1996: 1; Diggle and Farrow, 1999: 7). The first regeneration scheme is '*The Underuse of Buildings in the City*', which was produced by Tyne and Wear Building Preservation Trust Ltd. and funded by The City Grant (The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992). The scheme started in 1983 and ended in 1992 (The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992). Focusing on the south of Grey Street, the project constituted two focus areas, one of which was the blocks between Pilgrim Street, Mosley Street, Grey Street and Shakespeare Street (The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992). Within the framework of the scheme, the streetscape was improved; the buildings in the project area were cleared; and a multi-storey car park was constructed on Dean Street (The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992). The second focus area, which concentrated on the blocks between Bigg Market, Cloth Market and Grey Street, enabled the physical infrastructure of the site to be improved in order to attract private investment to the area (The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992).

Figure 7.6. Grey Street joining Dean Street (left) and the northern side of Grey Street (right) in the 1980s (Source: Author unknown, 1987: 41, 35)

The second regeneration scheme of Grey Street, namely '*Grey Street Renaissance*', was launched in 1988 (EDAW, 1996: 20). The scheme was initiated in the partnership with public and private sectors (i.e., The Newcastle Initiative, The NCC, Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, Northern Development Company, the Department of Environment and Department of Transport), and was funded by the local authority, Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, English Heritage, the Department of Environment and Newcastle/Gateshead Inner City Public Fund (EDAW, 1996: 20; Pendlebury, 1999; Author unknown, 1991: i-vi). The scheme, which aimed at regenerating Grey Street by attracting private sector investment, sought to improve the quality of public space by upgrading the physical fabric, infrastructure and facilities in the hands of public sector and to assist private sector investment through financial subsidies (Grey Street Initiative, 1988; cited in Tavsanoglu, 1996: 269; EDAW, 1992: 20). *Grey Street Renaissance* completed in 1992 (Tavsanoglu, 1996: 270).

As well as these regeneration schemes, the Theatre Royal and the Central Arcade were restored in the early 1990s. Despite these efforts to regenerate and revitalise Grey Street, the deterioration and decline of the street could not be stopped. There were a number of reasons which caused the continuing decline of Grey Street. One of the major reasons is the continuing investment on the northern side of the city centre, such as the development of Haymarket and Monument Metro Stations in 1980, the improvement of Haymarket Bus Station, the pedestrianisation of Northumberland Street, which encouraged the growth of this part of the city centre and led Grainger Town, and thus Grey Street, to become the secondary and tertiary centre of Newcastle (EDAW, 1996: 11).

Another factor, which resulted in the decline of Grey Street, was the decrease in the economic vitality and working population of the street. This was mainly caused by the decentralisation policies of the office uses from the city centre to the new locations at the edge of the city and city centre, such as the business park in the north east of the city, Newcastle Business Park and the new office spaces in the east Quayside (EDAW, 1996: 12). The decline in economic vitality of Grey Street was also strengthened by the competition between Leeds and Newcastle which brought about the departure of financial companies from Grey Street.

Figure 7.7. The west bank (left) and the east bank of the northern end of Grey Street in the 1980s (Source: Allsopp and Clark, 1977: 105)

In the early 1990s, it was realised that the nineteenth-century historic city centre needed a more holistic regeneration approach. The NCC, English Heritage and the regional office of the Department of Environment came together to produce a regeneration strategy for Grainger Town (Healey et. al., 2002: 48). They commissioned The Conservation Practice, a private consultancy from the south east of England, to produce the regeneration strategy in 1991 (EDAW, 1996: 21; Healey et. al., 2002: 48). In 1992, The Conservation Practice completed the first regeneration strategy, called '*Grainger Town Study*' with the main emphasis on conservation dimensions (EDAW, 1996: 22; Healey, et.al, 2002: 48). This was followed by the establishment of Conservation Area Partnership[1] between English Heritage and the City Council in 1993 (EDAW, 1996: 22; Healey, et. al., 2002: 48). The Partnership, which was called The Grainger Town (GT) Partnership, was provided with funding from both partners (The Grainger Town Steering Group, 1995; Healey, et. al., 2002: 48). Subsequently, a GT Development Officer was appointed and a Steering Group, which consisted of the representatives of the City Council, English Heritage, regional office of the Department of Environment and the Newcastle Initiative, was established (Healey, et. al., 2002: 48). In 1994, the GT Partnership was provided with an additional central government fund, named 'Single Regeneration Budget' (The Grainger Town Steering Group, 1995; Healey, et. al., 2002: 49).

Between 1992 and 1996, within the framework of *Grainger Town Study*, two main schemes were held in Grey Street. The first one is the scheme on Binns Site, which is located between Grainger Street, Bigg Market, Grey Street and Market Street, and aimed at introducing a mixed-use

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[1] English Heritage determined a number of conservation areas to allocate grant aid (The Grainger Town Steering Group, 1995). The grant aid is allocated through the establishment of a partnership between English Heritage and the local authority. Grainger Town was one of the fifteen pilot Conservation Area Partnerships which were established (The Grainger Town Steering Group, 1995).

development on the site (Author unknown, 1995b). The second scheme is the restoration and cleaning of Grey's Monument, which was funded by English Heritage (Author unknown, 1995b).

In 1995, the City Council received the support of English Partnerships[2] to the GT Project (The Grainger Town Steering Group, 1995). The GT Partnership was provided by a public fund of £40 million which was allocated from Single Regeneration Budget (£11 million), English Partnerships (£25 million) and other small contributions (Healey, et. al., 2002: 50). In 1997, the GT Partnership was launched in its new form in partnership with the NCC, English Partnerships and English Heritage (Oldershaw, no date; Healey, et. al., 2002: 50).

The involvement of English Partnerships in the GT Project led the regeneration policies to shift from a conservation agenda to a broader land and property-based regeneration (Healey, et. al., 2002: 49). The change created the need for a new study on the regeneration strategies of Grainger Town. The City Council and English Partnerships commissioned EDAW, a planning consultancy based in Glasgow, to prepare new regeneration strategies for Grainger Town (Diggle and Farrow, 1999: 7). In 1996, EDAW produced a '*Regeneration Strategy*' (Healey, et. al. 2002: 49). The *Regeneration Strategy* of EDAW was highly influential in determining the major regeneration strategies and programme for Grainger Town and the roles of the public space within the regeneration scenario of Grainger Town. The impact of *Regeneration Strategy* on the development of the GT Project and the development of the GMA public space improvement scheme will be analysed in section 7.3.1.1.2. Yet, what is important here is that, within the framework of the GT Project, there are various schemes which have been undertaken on both public and private spaces of Grey Street since 1997. When the private space is considered, there are three schemes. The first one is the refurbishment of 62-78 Grey Street/High Bridge/60-80 Pilgrim Street-Lloyds Court, by keeping these Grade II and Grade II* listed buildings (Haworth, no date). The scheme, which was financed by The City Grant, is a prestigious office accommodation, as well as retail uses at the ground floors (Haworth, no date). The second scheme is the development of a prestigious hotel in 2-12 Grey Street. The construction works are in progress. The last scheme is 'Office Investment Programme', which covers Grey Street, Mosley Street and Collingwood Street, and offers grant assistance for owners or developers who wish to bring vacant property back into beneficial use (Haworth, no date). As far as the public space within the framework of the GT Project is concerned, there are some public spaces which were

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[2] "English Partnerships was established in April 1994 as a Government sponsored agency concerned with urban regeneration (The Grainger Town Steering Group, 1995). It is considered to be the leading national development agency, specialised in industrial and commercial sites for economic regeneration purposes (Healey, et. al., 2002: 48). English Partnerships provided the financial support delivered through City Grant and Derelict Land Grant with English Estates' substantial industrial and commercial property portfolio" (The Grainger Town Steering Group, 1995).

determined as the areas to be environmentally improved. One of these public spaces is the northern part of Grey Street which was improved between 1995 and 2000. The following part of the chapter mainly focuses on the redevelopment of the public space of the northern Grey Street and analyses the 'publicness' of the GMA public space improvement scheme. But before this part, it is important to examine the physical, psychological, social, political, economic and symbolic roles and problems of Grey Street as a public space, before its recent development scheme was undertaken.

7.2.3 The physical, psychological, social, political, economic and symbolic roles

The GMA was designed as a junction which used to intersect the three main thoroughfares of the city centre, running from south to north, from southwest to north and from east to west of the city centre. Blackett Street and Market Street were the major vehicular traffic roads. The pedestrian site used to begin from the south of Blackett Street, extend to the south direction on Grey Street and end at the top of Hood Street, while it used to stretch to the southwest direction on Grainger Street, and finish at the beginning of Nelson Street. The rest of both Grey Street and Grainger Street was open to vehicular traffic. The part of the public space on Grey Street, which was open to the vehicular traffic, used to contain on-street car parks on both sides of the pavements. There was also a taxi rank, operated by hackney carriages, on Grey Street between Hood Street and Market Street. Besides, there was Monument Metro Station, with two entrances, located at the northeast and south of Blackett Street.

The focus of the GMA used to be Grey's Monument, which was surrounded by a number of striking buildings. Emerson Chambers was one of them which used to stand at the northwest of Grey's Monument. A glorious confection of canted oriels, strap work and friezes, balconies and domed turrets, dormers and little roof-lights with high pyramidal roofs, high corniced chimneys, Ionic columns of granite with bronze decoration and capitals at the former entrance to the restaurant, and fine-restored art nouveau glazing were the major architectural features of the building (Pevsner, 1992: 483). Next to Emerson Chambers, Monument Mall, a-recently-built shopping mall with a domed corner in Grainger's manner, and the well-preserved facades of three tall narrow shops, used to stand (Pevsner, 1992: 483).

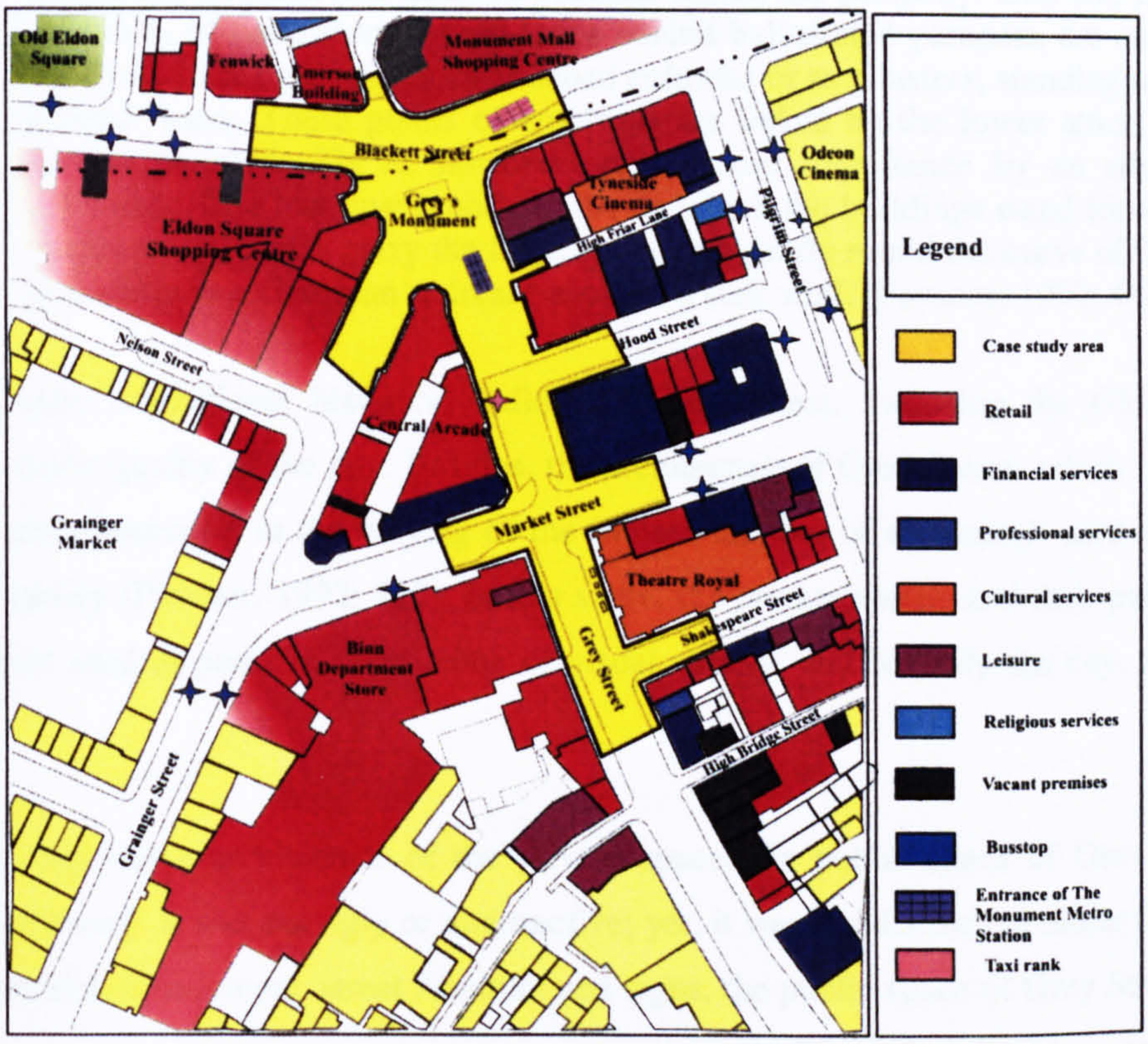

Figure 7.8: The 1994 land-use map of the GMA for only the ground floors before the recent development scheme took place (Source: Chas. E, Goad Ltd., 1994)

To the south of Emerson Chambers, Eldon Square Shopping Centre occupied the corner of Grainger Street and Blackett Street with its smoky glass screening. On the other side of Grey Street, Eldon Buildings "turns the corner in a satisfactory manner with a giant composite order and Venetian windows below a parapet with carved panels" (Pevsner, 1992: 483). The Central Exhange, another magnificent building in the whole group of buildings with its triangular shape and beautiful semi-circular corners, stood between Grey Street and Grainger Street. The rest of Grey Street, which constitutes the buildings with continuous facades, gently rounded the curve of the street (Pevsner, 1992: 487). The Theatre Royal is another essential element in the composition of Grey Street. In the 19th century, it was considered as one of the largest and most beautiful theatres out of London (Dougan, 1971: 29). With its majestic portico composed by six Corinthian columns, the Royal Arms in the pediment, Corinthian pilaster which framed the outer bays, top-floor windows in aedicule surrounds and top balustrades, the Theatre Royal constituted one of the greatest ornaments of Grey Street (Author unknown, 1854; cited in Dougan, 1971: 29; Pevsner, 1992: 448). Pevsner describes the distinct architecture of the rest of Grey Street as follows:

> We can see that the ranges of Grey Street are not completely symmetrical from a drawing-board point of view, but on both sides they are so well balanced that the

> alternation of plain and adorned sections comes off perfectly. End and intermediate pavilions, of three storeys with attics behind balustrated parapets, are enriched with the Corinthian order, either as attached columns or as pilasters, standing on rusticated ground floors. These points of emphasis are linked by the lower attics; the central section on each side is, however, given more importance by an attached giant colonnade. The low unadorned plinths on which the buildings stand form a series of shallow steps which carry the large elevations gently round the curve of the street, as gracefully as a Georgian staircase ascends a stair well. (Pevsner, 1992: 487)

Containing such magnificent historical buildings, Grey Street, including the GMA, used to enhance aesthetic quality of the city. Besides, the architecture of Grey Street, which "is classical, competent and resourceful in the varying of the limited number of elements," used to provide a rich visual variety (Pevsner, 1992: 415). In this sense, the private spaces and their public façades of Grey Street used to perform as an arena of visual variety, and beautify the city, and the city centre.

Despite the impressive architecture of the private space, the public space of Grey Street was simple and ordinary. It was not ugly or unattractive; yet, it was not distinctive either (Figure 7.9). With the material of pavement, street furniture and signs, the public space of Grey Street was just the same as other parts of the public space of the city centre.

Figure 7.9. Grey Street just before the recent public space improvement (Source: Newcastle City Libraries and Arts, no date)

Nevertheless, the GMA was a multi-functional public space. First of all, it was the 'place of communication'. Being in close proximity to the bus stops on Blackett Street, Pilgrim Street, Market Street and Grainger Street, and accommodating Monument Metro Station, it was highly accessible for public transport users. Besides, the taxi on Grey Street, on-street car parks, and the multi-storey car park on Dean Street provided car users with high accessibility to the GMA. In addition, linking the main thoroughfares of the city centre together, it was the passageway for many people.

Second, the GMA was also a forum of 'variety' and 'diversity'. A variety of activities used to take place in the GMA, since it was surrounded by various retail uses, ranging from clothing, goldsmith, chemist and cosmetics, to furniture and household goods, electric and electronic

appliances, film developer, bookshop, stationery, toyshop and travel and news agencies (Figure 7.8). There were also two department stores; one was situated at the north of Blackett Street, namely Fenwick; while the other which was called Binns Department Store, was located on Market Street, stretching down to Bigg Market. As well as the retailing activities, the GMA used to accommodate financial services, particularly the headquarters of banks, professional services, like real-estate agency, and leisure activities, such as restaurants, public houses, and a nightclub (Figure 7.8). Accommodating the Theatre Royal and being very close to Tyneside Cinema, the GMA also used to function as a focus for cultural activities.

Since it was surrounded by a variety of retail, financial, professional and cultural activities, and functioned as the place of communication and transportation, the GMA was a very rich and vivid social environment where various groups of people used to use for different purposes. It was always very busy at day and night. People used to meet here, for various reasons, to shop, or to have a meal, refreshment in a restaurant or the public house, or to go to the theatre, cinema or somewhere else. It was not only the principal meeting place of the city centre, but also the place of 'public contact', a place of exchange of ideas, goods and services, a place of entertainment, celebrations and protests. Sale promotions, advertising or publicity campaigns and public surveys used to take place there. Charities seeking to raise money, organisations or individuals protesting ideas, making public speeches and discussions, used to come to the GMA. Further, street performances used to take place in the GMA, particularly around Grey's Monument. In this sense, as a public space, the GMA used to provide people with the opportunity to use and participate in the public arena, represent themselves and interact freely with others.

The GMA was also very lively at night, particularly after the closing time of public houses, the end of theatre preformances or films. Because of the bus stops, metro station and taxis, people ended up at the GMA to take a bus, metro or taxi to go home. Thus, being the arena of various economic, social and political activities, being surrounded by a number of retail, financial, professional and cultural activities, and functioning as the communication and transportation place, the GMA used to perform as a very rich social and political arena.

Figure 7.10. Grey Street in 1995 (left) and in 1990 (right), performing as a place of communication, a forum of variety and diversity and a social arena (Source: Newcastle City Libraries, no date)

Moreover, containing the major landmarks of Newcastle, such as Grey's Monument, the Theatre Royal and the Central Arcade, being financial, retail, cultural and historical centre of city, Grey Street and the GMA used to be two major public spaces which contributed to form the public images of Newcastle. This can also easily be seen when we look at a book or brochure about Newcastle.

The symbolic role of the GMA and Grey Street also came from the political history of the city. As explained in section 7.2.2, the GMA used to symbolise 'civic and religious liberty' by accommodating Grey's Monument dedicated to Earl Grey. Additionally, by being a public space which was built by public demand, the GMA represented a significant democratic achievement in the political history of Newcastle. For these reasons, the GMA used to be a symbol of democracy for the city.

Briefly put, the GMA was highly accessible for pedestrians, public transport and car users. Accommodating Grey's Monument and surrounded by magnificent historical buildings, it used to provide the visual variety and to enhance the aesthetic quality of the city centre. Despite its impressive and beautiful private spaces, the public space of the GMA was simple and ordinary (just like the other public spaces of the city centre), but multi-functional. Being the communication and transportation focus of the city centre, surrounded by a wide variety of retail, financial, professional, cultural and leisure activities, and performing as the arena of various economic, social and political activities, the GMA used to perform as a rich social and political environment in the city centre. As well as its physical, social and political roles, as a public space which comprised some major landmarks of the city and being a symbol of democracy for the city, the GMA was one of the elements which formed the identity of Newcastle.

7.2.4 The problems of the old Grey's Monument Area

Despite the physical, social and political roles of the GMA, which significantly contributed to the urban life, it had some problems. One of the major problems of the public space was the traffic congestion of Blackett Street and Market Street. Both streets were significantly overloaded, since they were the major connections between the east and the west of the city centre. The public space was a little bit chaotic and unorganised. The layout of the northern part of the GMA, particularly that of Blackett Street, created a lot of conflicts between pedestrians and vehicles. Buses which used to drive fast on Blackett Street used to jeopardise the safety of pedestrians in the GMA. As well as the northern end, on the southern end of the public space, i.e., the part between Hood Street and Shakespeare Street, there were conflicts between cars driving through, and parking, as well as taxis waiting for customers. In addition to the traffic problems, the GMA suffered from the deterioration of physical fabric of the street, poor highways, and street and traffic signs (Author unknown, 1999b: 25).

Apart from the problems of the public space, Grey Street had the appearance of an economically rising and rejuvenating street. The economic vitality of the GMA and Grey Street was remarkably improved by several regeneration schemes, carried out in the 1980s and early 1990s. In 1994, there were prestigious retailers such as Fenwick department store, the jewelleries, like Northern Goldsmiths, Bernstones, Fraser Hart, Watches of Switzerland, and leading high-street retailers, like Waterstones, Boots, Body Shop, Lunn Poly, Greggs and Dixon. The GMA also accommodated the headquarters of leading banks, such as TSB Bank, National Westminister Bank and Lloyds. In the mid-1990s, the economic vitality of the street was coming back. Yet, there were a few vacant private premises on ground floors, but a big number of vacant premises, especially on upper floors, which used to decrease the property values of the GMA, and give the impression of a run-down place about the GMA (Figure 7.11). The private space of Grey Street on upper floors used to suffer from a lack of developers, investors and occupiers.

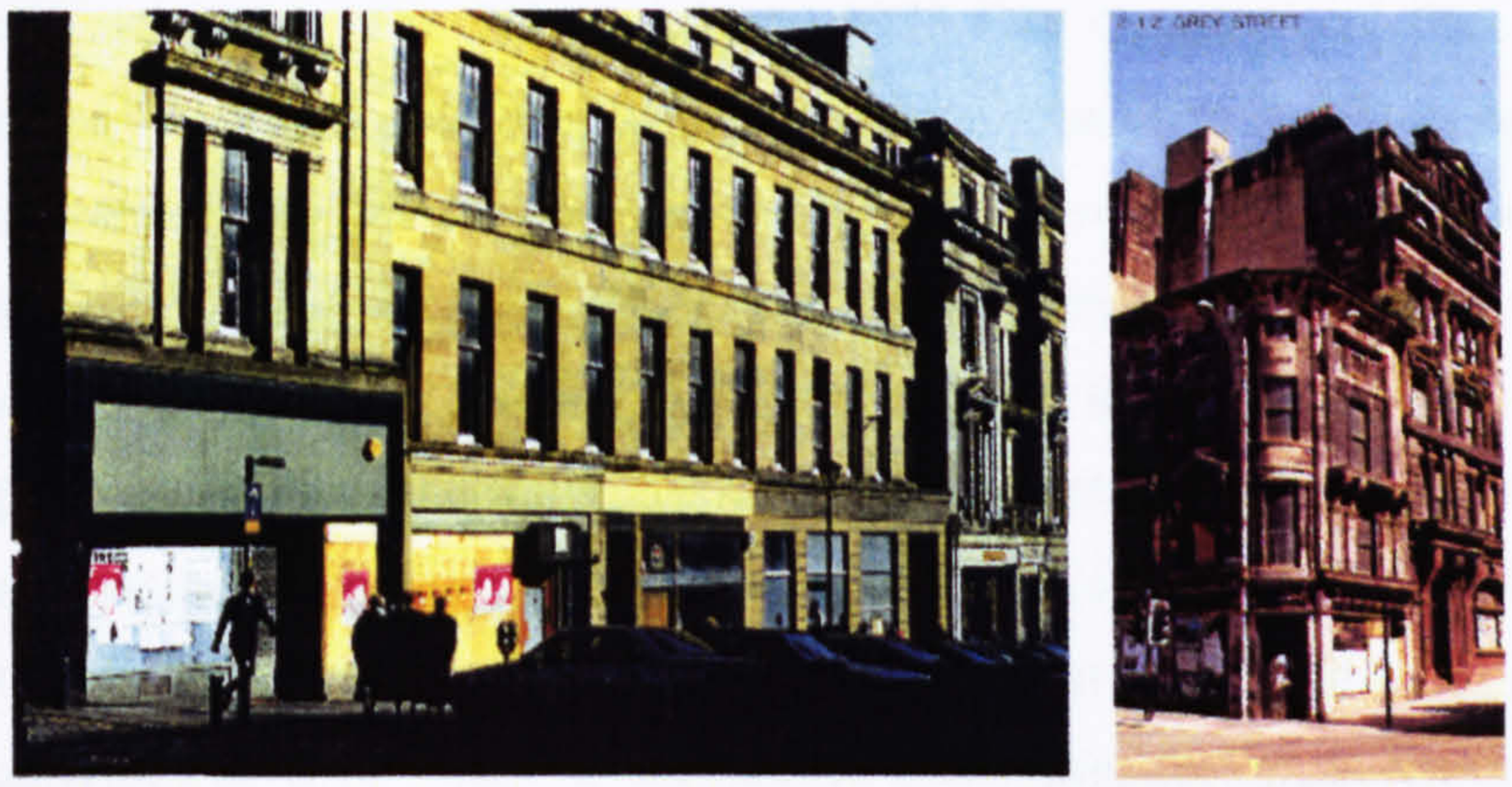

Figure 7.11. The vacant private premises on Grey Street: the left picture is dated 1995; and the other one is 2002 (Source: Newcastle City Libraries, no date; The GT Project. 1999c: 9)

7.3 The redevelopment of the Grey's Monument Area

7.3.1 Planning and design process

The public space of the GMA was recently improved within the framework of the GT Project. It was re-paved with Caithness stone; Blackett Street was re-modelled; and the upper part of Grey Street from Hood Street to Shakespeare Street turned into a pedestrian-priority site. Besides, the area surrounding Grey's Monument and the front of the Theatre Royal were re-arranged as gathering places. As well as the changes in the hard landscape, new street furniture and street signs were installed; Grey's Monument was cleaned and restored. In addition, four projects have been carried out in the GMA within the framework of street lighting and public artwork schemes.

The planning and design process of the GMA improvement scheme is a very complex process due to the special characteristics of the GT Project in terms of the organisation of the GT Partnership and the planning approach which was brought in through this project. But, before going into the details of the planning and design phase of the GMA improvement scheme and examining the 'publicness' of the process, it is important to study the macro-scale policies which influenced the planning and design principles of the public space improvement scheme.

7.3.1.1 Macro-scale planning policies

7.3.1.1.1 The 1994 Unitary Development Plan, the 1985 City Centre Local Plan and the 2000 City Centre Action Plan

There were two major macro-scale planning documents which came into effect before the GMA was developed. The first one is the 1985 City Centre Local Plan which proposed a mix of property-led and conservation-led regeneration policies. As far as conservation-led policies are concerned, the Plan encouraged the refurbishment of existing vacant or underused property in Grey Street; and suggested the restoration, maintenance and improvement of buildings with strict design controls over any development (Newcastle City Council, 1985: 32, 47). When property-led policies are concerned, the Plan sought to attract inward investment by permitting new developments in Grey Street (Newcastle City Council, 1985: 32, 47). Besides, the 1985 City Centre Local Plan suggested the development of office and retail uses as the major land-use activities of Grey Street. It encouraged office uses for upper floors of buildings, while it only permitted the development of retail activities on ground floor of buildings (Newcastle City Council, 1985: 20, 47). The Plan encouraged particularly the development of cafés, snack bars and hot food shops in the northern end of Grey Street between Grey's Monument and Hood Street

(Newcastle City Council, 1985: 20). As well as the limitation of certain functions to develop on Grey Street, the 1985 City Centre Local Plan only allowed buses and service traffic to run on Blackett Street (Newcastle City Council, 1985: 45). The plan also underlined the importance of the public space by suggesting i) the improvement of the layout and design of street furniture and the street scene in general; and ii) the repair of the street surface (Newcastle City Council, 1985: 32, 47).

Similarly, the 1994 Unitary Development Plan aimed at preserving the unique character of Grey Street. It mainly put forth two policies with regard to the regeneration of Grey Street: i) to continue environmental improvement; ii) to bring the remaining under-used buildings back into use (Newcastle City Council, 1993: 186). Different from the 1985 City Centre Local Plan, the 1994 Unitary Development Plan showed Grey Street only as an office development site. Yet, it proposed the improvement of the public space, especially by improving conditions in Grey Street for pedestrians by paving from Hood Street to Market Street and restricting the access of vehicles (Newcastle City Council, 1993: 186).

When the GMA public space improvement scheme was implemented, another macro-scale plan, the 2000 City Centre Action Plan, came into effect. The plan proposed the pedestrianisation of the northern part of Grey Street (Newcastle City Council, 2000: 28). Besides, by putting the strategy of promoting street cafés for Grey Street forward, the plan suggested the commercialisation of the public space (Newcastle City Council, 2000: 28).

Briefly put, the 1985 City Centre Local Plan and the 1994 Unitary Development Plan set the key regeneration policies for the private space, and improvement policy of the public space of Grey Street. Yet, the major emphases of these policies were significantly shifted throughout the planning and design process which developed within the framework of the GT Project. One of the major impacts on the change in the emphases of these policies was made by the EDAW's *Regeneration Strategy*, which set up the major regeneration policies for Grainger Town and identified the roles of public spaces in relation to the regeneration of this historical part of the city centre.

7.3.1.1.2 Regeneration Strategy of EDAW

EDAW showed Grainger Town as an asset for the city with its distinctive historical legacy (Healey, et. al., 2002: 61). They suggested that the physical regeneration of the area be linked to an economic development strategy (Healey, et. al., 2002: 62).

EDAW developed the main vision statement of the GT Project, which is:

> Grainger Town will become a dynamic and competitive location in the heart of the City. Grainger Town will develop its role in the regional economy, within a high quality environment appropriate to a major European regional Capital. Its reputation for excellence will be focused on leisure, culture, the arts and entrepreneurial activity. Grainger Town will become a distinctive place, a safe and attractive location to work, live and visit. (EDAW 1996 summary, para 18; cited in Healey, et. al., 2002: 62)

As can be noted from the main vision statement, EDAW described Grainger Town as a self-contained, fragmented part of the city centre, and showed it as a vital instrument in the economic regeneration of the city and the region. They proposed the development of a 'high quality' environment in Grainger Town, which is appropriate to Newcastle as a 'European regional Capital'. In doing so, they promoted Grainger Town as a powerful marketing tool to help Newcastle (as a European regional capital) to reposition itself and to find a new niche in competitive urban markets. They emphasised the development of the soft infrastructure of Grainger Town (i.e., leisure, culture, art) as a vital tool in stimulating private investment. In addition, they suggested mixed-use developments, which are mainly consumption-oriented facilities (housing, retailing, leisure and cultural uses). But they also emphasised the importance of the development of office uses for Grainger Town.

As the major focuses of the regeneration strategies, EDAW identified six regeneration themes to be developed within the boundary of Grainger Town: i) business development and enterprise; ii) non-housing property development; iii) access to opportunity; iv) housing; v) quality of environment; and vi) management, marketing and promotion. Then, EDAW elaborated these six regeneration themes under seven headings and made proposals which especially focused the physical and economic regeneration of this part of the city centre. Under the heading of '*Business and enterprise development*', EDAW underlined the importance of stopping the loss of employment, developing existing business and promoting the formation of new businesses in Grainger Town (Newcastle City Council, no date). They suggested the provision of support structures (such as grant and loan assistance for businesses), promotion of an 'entrepreneurial culture', and encouragement of sectors with potential, such as legal and financial services, design, cultural/media, leisure, and specialist retail (Healey, et. al., 2002: 64). Second, under the heading of '*Non-housing property development*', EDAW suggested the provision of help to repair, re-use and redevelop the historic buildings for a range of activities (Healey, et. al., 2002: 64). Healey, et. al. (2002: 64) note that this proposal could help provide high quality office buildings, promote specialist retailing, and diversify the range of leisure facilities available in the central areas. The third heading is '*Housing*', under which EDAW proposed the increase in the residential

population of Grainger Town by providing owner-occupied housing, social rented housing and expanding residential development through Living Over the Shops (LOTS) (Newcastle City Council, no date; Healey, et. al., 2002: 64). As the fourth heading, EDAW focused on '*Quality of environment*' and proposed the improvement of the public spaces within the Grainger Town area in order to enhance the area's historic character, build confidence in the private sector, attract property investment, and promote tourism (Healey, et. al., 2002: 64). The fifth heading is '*Access to opportunity*'. EDAW suggested the improvement of training and employment opportunities for the long term unemployed in the neighbouring areas, through support from Tyneside TEC, the establishment of an Employment Development Officer for Grainger Town, and the creation of over 2500 jobs in the first six years of the strategy (Healey, et. al., 2002: 64). Another heading is '*Art, Culture and Heritage*', under which EDAW highlighted the significance of promoting the elements of the Grainger Town's soft infrastructure as the vital part of revitalizing the city centre; and they suggested the establishment of a 'cultural animateur', a programme of support for events and festivals, and a marketing and promotional programme (Healey, et. al., 2002: 64). Finally, under the heading of '*Security and management*', EDAW pointed out the importance of the improvement of the sense of security by developing a City Watch initiative, in which uniformed individuals will be present in the area (Healey, et. al., 2002: 64).

As well as these proposals organised around six regeneration themes, EDAW also suggested six key physical development principles, which mainly consist of "strengthening and developing the existing predominant land uses in some areas; creating new leisure/cultural corridors, promoting public transport nodes and high profile leisure and tourist attractions, and improving the spaces between buildings" (Healey, et. al., 2002: 62). Healey, et. al. (2002: 62) conclude the major intentions of these six development principles of EDAW as "to create a macro framework for a mixture of uses, to cultivate the formation of 'magnets' to increase pedestrian flows, and to create a 'glue' that binds various development projects together".

In *Regeneration Strategy*, Healey, et. al (2002: 63) note that EDAW brought into the Grainger Town arena a discourse about the 'European City', with its mixture of activities and 24-hour flow of activity, by suggesting to introduce a 'café culture' into the area and expanding the 'evening economy'. Moreover, they "located Newcastle in relation to other UK and Irish cities, - Sheffield, Leeds, Dublin, Glasgow, Edinburgh" (Healey, et. al., 2002: 63).

In sum, focused on Grainger Town as a self-contained and fragmented part of the city centre, EDAW proposed a detail regeneration strategy and programme for the ninetheenth-century city centre. They proposed the promotion of Grainger Town as a crucial instrument for the

regeneration of Newcastle and the region, and a powerful marketing tool to help Newcastle to reposition itself and to find a new niche in competitive urban markets. In order to achieve this, their suggestions focused mainly on economic and urban regeneration. They proposed the development of a high-quality environment based on consumption-oriented facilities as well as office uses. They put a special emphasis on the development of soft infrastructure in this part of the city centre and the promotion of historical legacy of Grainger Town. Within this context, the improvement of public spaces in Grainger Town was shown as an essential component for the regeneration of Grainger Town. The improvement of the public spaces was seen as the means to enhance the historical identity of Grainger Town, as well as to attract inward investment to the area, by pleasing the eyes of investors, developers and tourists. The public space of the GMA was designed on the basis of these major planning principles.

7.3.1.2 The design process before the public consultation

7.3.1.2.1 Actors

The GMA development scheme was pioneered by the NCC as the public actor and the GT Partnership as the semi-public actor. The GT Partnership is a very complicated agency which shows the characteristics of both public and private actors. The Partnership manifests the characteristics of a public actor, since it was established in partnership with three public actors; i.e. the NCC, English Partnerships and English Heritage (Diggle and Farrow, 1999: 8; Oldershaw, no date; Healey, et. al., 2002: 50). Besides, the main responsible bodies for the Partnership are public actors; that is, the NCC is the accountable body of the Partnership, and English Partnerships is the primary financier (Diggle and Farrow, 1999: 8). In addition, the Partnership, which is charged with the regeneration of Grainger Town, acts on behalf of the citizens of Newcastle and the local and central government agencies. Hence, the GT Partnership showed the characteristics of a public actor. However, the GT Partnership comprised the characteristics of a private actor which reduced its 'publicness'. First of all, it operated as a company independent from the local authority organisation. Additionally, it has its own independent Board, which is made up of representatives of both public and private actors, and act as the decision-making body of The Partnership (See Table 7.5). The presence of both public and private actors blurs the public-private distinction of the actor, and reduces its 'publicness'. Nevertheless, the decisions of the Board have to be confirmed by two public actors; i.e. the NCC and English Partnerships (Healey, et. al., 2002: 52). The presence of the public actors as the ultimate decision-makers increases the 'publicness' of the Partnership. Hence, the GT Partnership is not absolutely a public actor. Although the presence of the private actors as the members of the GT Partnership blurs and

reduces its 'publicness', the presence of the public actors as the ultimate decision-makers increases its 'publicness'. In this sense, the GT Partnership is 'more public than private'.

As mentioned above, the local authority and the GT Partnership pioneered the GMA scheme and played the key roles in the planning and design process of the project. Following the approval of *Regeneration Strategy*, both parties started to consider the EDAW's proposal which showed the northern side of Grey Street as one of the main public spaces to be improved in Grainger Town (EDAW, 1996: 70-71). In early 1998, the GT Partnership and the City Council appointed Gillespies, another private consultancy, to produce a public space strategy for Grainger Town (Gillespies, 1998: 1). Gillespies (1998), which produced '*Public Realm Strategy*' in 1998, showed the northern part of Grey Street as one of the major public space improvement areas, set the major design principles and drew the initial design schemes. In late 1998, '*Public Realm Strategy*' was approved by the GT Board (The GT Project, 1999a). Then, agreed on financing the scheme, both the GT Board and the NCC decided to improve the northern part of Grey Street. Two officers from the Highway and Transportation (HAT) Department and the GT Executive Team produced a design brief within the framework of '*Public Realm Strategy*' (The officer of the Grainger Town Project Executive Team, 2000[3]). After that, the GT Board and the local authority decided to set up a core design team from the officers of the public agencies in order to carry out the design of the detail scheme, and to retain Gillespies as the advisor of the GT Board on urban design issues (The GTP Executive Team; the Member of the Urban Design Panel, 2000[4]; Healey, et. al., 2002: 68). Subsequently, a design team was established from the officers of HAT and Engineering Services (ES) departments of the local authority and the Grainger Town Project (GTP) Executive Team (The GTP Executive Team; The officer of the Highway and Transportation Department of the NCC, 2000b[5]; The officer of Engineering Services Department of the NCC, 2000[6]). Gillespies were invited to some of the meetings of the design team to seek advice on the detailed design issues (HAT Officer; ES Officer). The design team completed the detail design scheme of the GMA in a short period of time and presented it to the GT Board for their consultation (The GTP Executive Team).

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[3] From here on, the officer of the Grainger Town Project Executive Team will be referred to as 'The GTP Executive Team'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

[4] From here on, the Member of the Urban Design Panel will be referred to as 'The member of the UDP'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

[5] From here on, the officer of the Highway and Transportation Department of the NCC will be referred to as 'HAT Officer'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

[6] From here on, the officer of the Engineering Services of the NCC will be referred to as 'ES Officer'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

Actors	Public-Private Nature
The GT Partnership	More public than private
NCC	Public
EDAW	Private
Gillespies	Private
Core design team (NCC, The GT Partnership)	More public than private

Table 7.1. The public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the planning and design process of the hard landscaping before the consultation period

The scheme of the core design scheme included the hard landscape design of the GMA, but did not comprise the design issues such as street furniture, signs, lighting and artworks. Regarding the street furniture, Gillespies set the major design principles of street furniture through '*Public Realm Strategy*' (Gillespies, 1998: 73). Later, the GT Board and the City Council decided to retain a comprehensive approach to the street furniture in Grainger Town, rather than to consider the street furniture of Grey Street (HAT Officer). This led them to retain Gillespies and Public Arts, a private practice from Wakefield, as the advisors of the GT Partnership regarding the design of street furniture, and to launch a competition concerning the street furniture of Grainger Town (Newcastle City Council, 2000; HAT Officer). The HAT Department of the City Council prepared a design brief, which was to be the design framework for the detailed design of the street furniture (The member of the UDP; HAT Officer). After receiving the consent of the GT Board and the Urban Design Panel (UDP) about the design brief, the proposals of the six invited local consultant firms were accepted (HAT Officer). The UDP made the initial interviews with the competitors and recommended a shortlist to the GT Board (The member of the UDP). Of the short-listed competitors, the GT Board has awarded Insite Environments, a private firm of landscape architects based in the Quayside, to devise new street furniture in Grainger Town (*The Grainger Town Project*, no date). Insite Environments worked with the design team of the City Council and the GTP Executive Team on the detailed design of street furniture, which planned to be put in place early in 2002 (*The Grainger Town Project*, no date).

Actors	Public-Private Nature
The GT Partnership	More public than private
NCC	Public
Gillespies	Private
Public Arts	Private
The UDP	More public than private
Insite Environments	Private

Table 7.2. The public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the planning and design process of the street furniture of Grainger Town

As far as street signs are concerned, they were also considered within the context of Grainger Town, rather than Grey Street (The GT Project, 2000b). Gillespies set the major design principles about street signs through '*Public Realm Strategy*', while the GT Board, the City Council and the

Heritage Officer (i.e., an officer from the GTP Executive Team) took part in the design process (The GT Project, 2000b).

Actors	Public-Private Nature
The GT Partnership	More public than private
NCC	Public
Gillespies	Private
The GTP Executive Team	More public than private

Table 7.3. The public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the planning and design process of the street signs of Grainger Town

As for the street artworks and street lighting, the GT Board led the design process, while the City Council acted as the advisor on the technical issues (ES Officer). Gillespies contributed to the scheme through '*Public Realm Strategy*', which set the major design principles about the artworks and street lighting. In Summer 1999, Public Arts prepared the public art strategy of Grainger Town, which was later approved by the GT Board (Healey, et. al., 2002: 70). Then, Public Arts was retained as the specialist adviser and the project manager of the GT Board (The GT Project, 2000a). Afterwards, the Public Art Steering Group, a semi-public actor (1)[7], was established to supervise the work of specialist advisers and to guide the GT Board (The GT Project, 1999b; The GT Project, 2000a). The Public Art Steering Group and specialist advisers, which developed a series of artwork proposals for Grainger Town, proposed four artwork schemes related to the public space of Grey Street: i) The Lort Burn Scheme; ii) Creative Lighting Scheme of Grey's Monument; iii) Creative Lighting Scheme for the Theatre Royal; and iv) Public Art Scheme for the entrances of Monument Metro Station (The GT Project, 2000a).

Creative Lighting Schemes of Grey's Monument and the Theatre Royal were designed by Simon Watkinson, a Gosforth-based private practice (Author unknown, 2002f: 5; *The Grainger Town Project*, no date). As far as The Lort Burn Scheme is concerned, Martha Schwartz, an internationally-known landscape architect and artist based on Massachusetts, was chosen from an initial list of 19 artists to produce a concept for Grey Street (Henderson, 2001b: 3). Schwartz, who outlined the scheme of the Lort Burn to the GT Board in late 2001, estimated the cost of the water feature as £1 million (Henderson, 2001b: 3). The GT Partnership, the NCC and Northern Arts, which will fund the scheme, allocated a £500,000 budget for it (Robinson, 2001: 51-52; Henderson, 2001b: 3). The main financiers have not made their final decision to implement the scheme, since they are concerned about the visual impact of the scheme, the cost of maintenance and preventing vandalism (Robinson, 2001: 51-52; Henderson, 2001b: 3). If they decide to carry

[7] The analysis of the public-private nature of the agencies which are numbered according to this numbering system can be found in Appendix B.

on, the designer will work up the detailed design of the scheme (Henderson, 2001b: 3). Finally, Public Art Scheme for the entrances of Monument Metro Station was driven by the City Council, the GT Partnership and NEXUS (The GTP Executive Team). The design work was commissioned to the artist Richard Cole (Robinson, 2001: 51). The GT Board made the final decision about the scheme, and then the artwork was installed into the site (The Project Manager of The GMA Public Realm Project-Phase I, 2000[8]).

Actors	Public-Private Nature
The GT Partnership	More public than private
NCC	Public
Gillespies	Private
Public Arts	Private
Public Art Steering Group	More public than private
Simon Watkinson	Private
Martha Schwartz	Private
Richard Cole	Private
NEXUS	Public

Table 7.4. The public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the planning and design process of the street artworks and street lighting of Grainger Town

Briefly put, public and semi-public actors, and a large number of private actors were involved in the planning and design process of the GMA development scheme.

7.3.1.2.2 Access

The planning and design process of the GMA development scheme before the public consultation was open to a significantly large group of actors. One of the major reasons for that is the large number of professional and technical expert groups which were consulted by the GT Partnership and the local authority. The second reason is the organisation of the GT Partnership which provided a variety of actors with access to the planning and design process. First of all, the GT Board, which is the decision-making organ of the Partnership included members from various public and private actors ranging from the local, regional and central government organisations to local, national and international business groups, charities and the GT residents (Table 7.5).

Actors	Public-Private Nature
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
North East Chamber of Commerce (2)	Private

[8] From here on, The Project Manager of The GMA Public Realm Project-Phase I will be referred to as 'The Project Manager'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interviewee is referred to.

Newcastle Building Society (3)	Private
The Newcastle Initiative (4)	More private than public
Bowey Group Ltd. (5)	Private
Chesterton Group (6)	Private
Dickinson Dees (7)	Private
One NorthEast (8)	Public
North East Civic Trust (9)	More public than private
English Partnerships (10)	Public
Northern Arts (11)	More public than private
Northumbria Tourist Board (12)	More public than private
Tyneside Training and Enterprise Council (13)	Private
Resident of Grainger Town	Private
Resident of Grainger Town	Private
Housing association (14)	More public than private

Table 7.5. The public-private nature of the actors which are the members of the GT Board in 1998 (Healey, et. al., 2002: 53).

Second, there were four advisory groups, which were set within the partnership organisation, and consulted by the GT Board before The Board made an ultimate decision (Diggle and Farrow, 1999: 8; The member of the UDP; the Member of the Residents Forum, 2000[9]). One of these advisory groups was the Business Forum (BF). The BF was set up in order to provide people who work in the Grainger Town area with the opportunity to be involved in the GT Project (Gillespies, 1998: 7). As can be seen from Table 7.6, the Forum includes the members from both public and private actors, ranging from the local and central government organisations to local, national and international business interest, as well as the business interest of an ethnic minority group. Additionally, the Forum comprises the representatives of religious services and local media.

Actors	Public-Private Nature
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
The GT Board Member	More public than private
The GT Board Member	More public than private
The GT Board Member	More public than private
Newcastle Chronicle & Journal Ltd (15)	Private
L Bonster Ltd (16)	Private
Grainger Market Traders Association (17)	Private
Eversheds (18)	Private
The Newcastle Initiative	More private than public
NEXUS (19)	Public
North East Chamber of Commerce	Private
Sir John Fitzgerald Ltd (20)	Private
Decorflair (21)	Private
St Andrew's Church (22)	More public than private

[9] From here on, the Member of the Residents Forum will be referred to as 'The member of the RF'; and the interview date will not be displayed every time that the interview is referred to.

Tyneside Training and Enterprise Council	Private
English Partnerships	Public
Burdus Access Management (23)	Private
Newcastle Hackney Drivers' Association (24)	Private
Chinese Centre Project (25)	Private
Bainbridge (26)	Private
Midland Bank Plc (27)	Private

Table 7.6. The public-private nature of the actors which are the members of the BF in 1998 (The GT Project, 1998a)

The other advisory group was the Residents Forum (RF), which is a medium for the people who live in Grainger Town to present their ideas for the GT Project (Gillespies, 1998: 7). The RF also contains the members of public actors and private actors ranging from the local and central government agencies to various groups from the residential population of Grainger Town (Table 7.7). The residential population of Grainger Town is not only presented by house owners and tenants, but also by the members from different ethnic and professional groups.

Actors	Public-Private Nature
Newcastle City Councillors	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
The GT Board Member	More public than private
The GT Board Member	More public than private
English Partnerships	Public
Chinese Community	Private
Student	Private
Student	Private
Student	Private
Student	Private
Housing association tenant	Private
Housing association tenant	Private
Housing association tenant	Private
Housing association tenant	Private
Housing association tenant	Private
Housing association tenant	Private
Housing association tenant	Private
Housing association tenant	Private
Owner occupier	Private
Owner occupier	Private
Owner occupier	Private
Owner occupier	Private
Owner occupier	Private
Owner occupier	Private
Owner occupier	Private
Owner occupier	Private
Owner occupier	Private
Owner occupier	Private

Table 7.7. The public-private nature of the actors which are the members of the RF in 1998 (The GT Project, 1998a)

The third advisory group is the Urban Design Panel (UDP), which is charged with providing "specialist advice to the Board on design issues, particularly relating to the public realm programme" (The GT Project, 1998a) (Table 7.8). The UDP also contains the members from

public and private actors, ranging from the central and local government agencies which are presented by both politicians and technical and professional staff to private practices specialised in urban design issues, academia and charities.

Actors	Public-Private Nature
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Officers of the NCC	Public
Officers of the NCC	Public
The GT Board Member	More public than private
The GT Board Member	More public than private
North East Landscape Group(28)	Private
Local architectural practice	Private
Local architectural practice	Private
NEXUS	Public
Academic from University of Newcastle (29)	Private
Academic from University of Newcastle	Private
English Partnerships	Public
Northern Arts	More public than private
Royal Institute of British Architects (30)	More public than private
Northumberland and Newcastle Society (31)	More public than private
English Heritage	Public

Table 7.8. The public-private nature of the actors which are the members of the UDP in 1998 (The GT Project, 1998a)

The last advisory group is Arts and Culture Panel (ACP). The Panel consists of fourteen members, made up of art administrators, art practitioners and local residents (The GT Project, 1998f).

Throughout the design process of the GMA public space scheme, the BF, the RF, the UDP and ACP were continuously informed and consulted by the core design team and the GT Board about the design of the public space (The GTP Executive Team; The Project Manager; ES Officer; The member of the RF). Hence, these fora and panels provided a number of actors with the opportunity to access the activities and discussions, and the information about the planning and design process of the GMA scheme. They performed as the arenas where the public and private actors expressed, exchanged and influenced opinions about the design of the GMA. In this sense, they significantly increased the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA development scheme. Nevertheless, neither the GT Board, nor four advisory groups were absolutely open to all segments of the public. They were the pre-set arenas open to their selected members, which constituted the representatives from public actors at the local, regional and central government levels, local, national and international business interest, as well as the business interest of an ethnic minority, private practices in professional services, religious services, local media, academia, charities and the residential population of Grainger Town. These groups are those which the GT Partnership and the local authority targeted to work with. So, the

activities and discussions, and the information about the planning and design process of the GMA scheme were only open to the groups which the GT Partnership and the local authority targeted, and the professional and technical consultancies of the GT Partnership and the local authority, rather than all segments of the public. This is an important feature which undermined the public accessibility of the public space scheme, and thus decreased the 'publicness' of the scheme.

Another feature, which undermined the public accessibility to the scheme, is the absence of the primary and daily users of Grey Street, such as the pedestrians, shoppers, shopkeepers in the area, their employees and customers, street traders, and taxi drivers, in this part of the design process. There is no survey or interview which was undertaken by the key actors in order to understand the problems of the main users of the GMA and include the public opinion about the new design of public space (The GTP Executive Team; HAT Officer; ES Officer). Moreover, neither the GT Partnership, nor the NCC attempted to make some public meetings with the primary users of the site in order to express and exchange ideas about the new design of the GMA. Despite the involvement of a rich range of actors through the GT Board and the advisory groups of the GT Partnership, this part of the design process was not, therefore, accessible to all. This undermines the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA development scheme.

7.3.1.3 The roles and influence of the actors in the design of the public space

7.3.1.3.1 Private professional and technical consultancies

The main design principles of the GMA development scheme were set by a group of private professional and technical consultancies which worked for the GT Partnership and the NCC. As far as the hard landscaping of the GMA is concerned, EDAW and Gillespies were the private consultancies which introduced the major design principles. EDAW (1996: 70-71) suggested two major goals for the modification of the GMA: i) "to create an extended and more natural pedestrian realm around Grey's Monument"; and ii) "to complement the high quality of architecture with more appropriate streetscape". Based on these goals, EDAW (1996: 70-71) proposed that:

- car-parking areas, located along Grey Street from Hood Street to Shakespeare Street, be removed;
- the public space around Grey's Monument from Blackett Street to the top of Market Street be pedestrianised, while the public space on Grey Street southwards, from Market

Street to Shakespeare Street, be redeveloped as a pedestrian-priority side, with a restricted vehicular traffic;

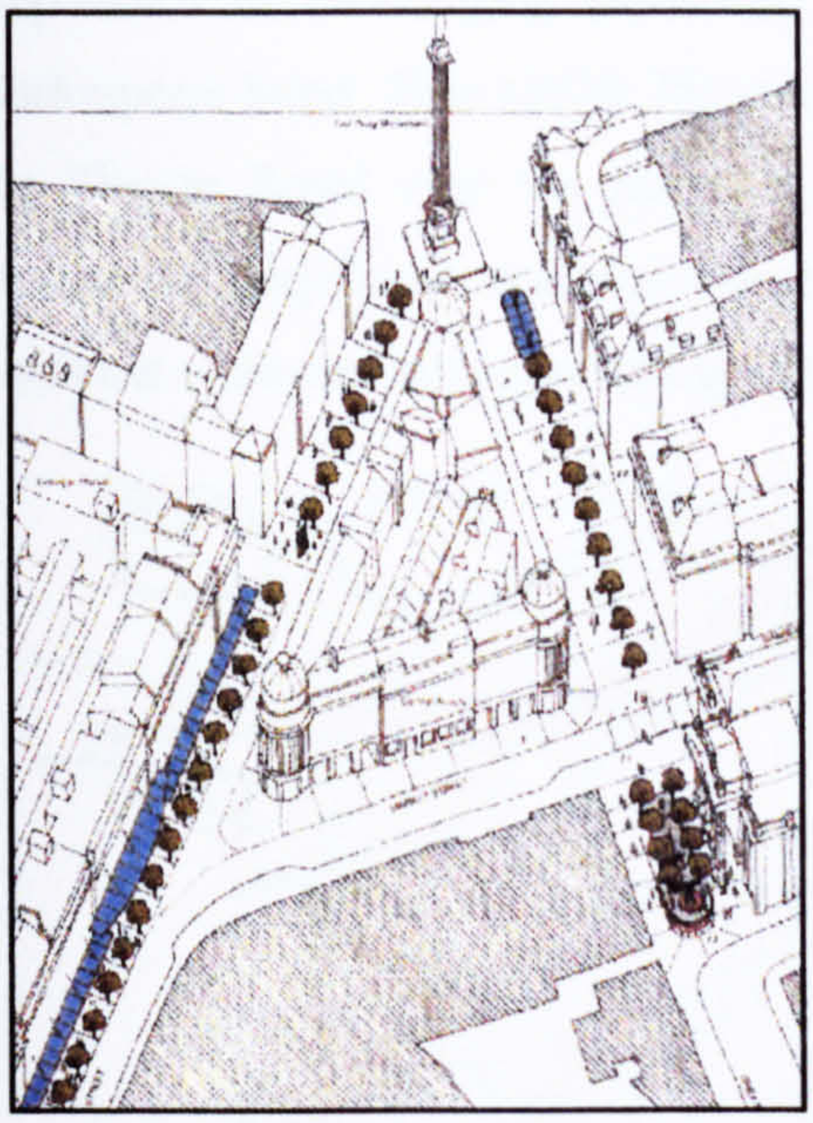

Figure 7.12. The proposed scheme of EDAW for the northern Grey Street (Source: EDAW, no date)

- a focus in front of the Theatre Royal for pedestrian activities be developed;
- the entrance of Monument Metro Station be remodelled;
- streetscape be improved to suit more the high quality architecture of the historical buildings on Grey Street through tree planting, lighting, signage and street furniture. (Figure 7.12)

Gillespies (1998: 73), which prepared '*Public Realm Strategy*', came up with the idea of developing a 'good-looking' and 'high quality' public space, which was to be re-paved by Caithness stone. They followed the basic design principles of EDAW and proposed the removal of the car-parking areas and the creation of a pedestrian-priority public space on Grey Street, from the north of Blackett Street to Shakespeare Street (Gillespies; 1998: 71). For them, the public space was to be improved particularly for the accessibility of disabled people and cyclists; yet to be restricted for the vehicular accessibility, except the access of service vehicles and taxis (Figure 7.13). To enhance the pedestrian accessibility of Grey Street, Gillespies (1998: 71) indicated the significance of improving the links to Eldon Square, Grainger Market and Northumberland Street. Moreover, pointing out the need for reducing the negative impact of bus traffic on Blackett Street and Market Street, which interrupted the continuity of the pedestrian-priority public space, Gillespies (1998: 71) proposed a low-speed site on both streets (Figure 7.13). Different from EDAW, Gillespies (1998: 73) proposed two pedestrian-gathering foci on Grey Street; one of which was to

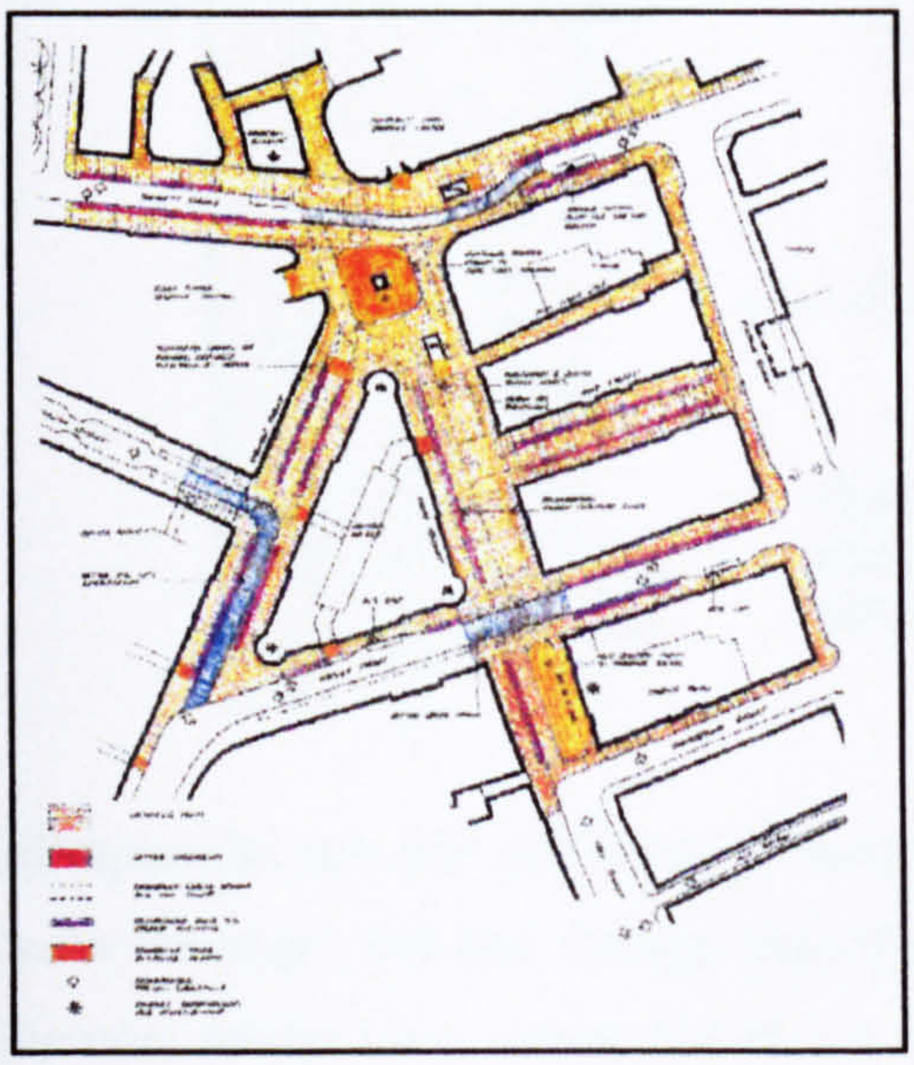

Figure 7.13. The proposed scheme of Gillespies for the northern Grey Street, including Grainger Street (Gillespies, 1998: 70)

be the place around Grey's Monument, while the other was to be the front of the Theatre Royal (Figures 7.14 and 7.15). Both places were to be designed as a podium with steps where some street performances were to take place (Gillespies, 1978: 75). The private consultancy (1998: 75) also underlined the importance of encouraging pavement café activity on Grey Street, between Market Street and Shakespeare Street. They (1978: 75) specifically proposed a street café which was to be spread out from the Theatre Royal over the pavement. Hence, for the first time, they opened up the ways for commercialising the management of the public space, since whoever operates the street café would make profit out of the new attractive setting of the public space of Grey Street.

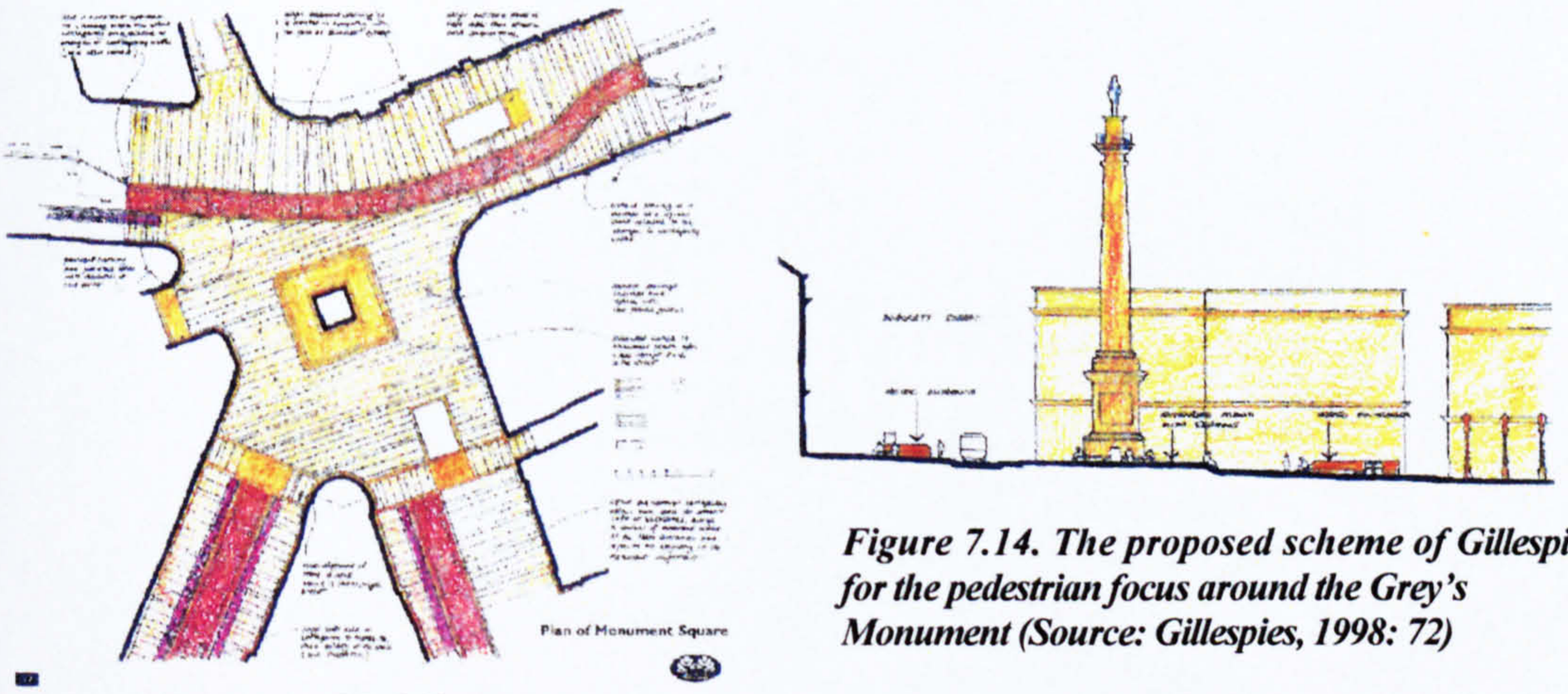

Figure 7.14. The proposed scheme of Gillespies for the pedestrian focus around the Grey's Monument (Source: Gillespies, 1998: 72)

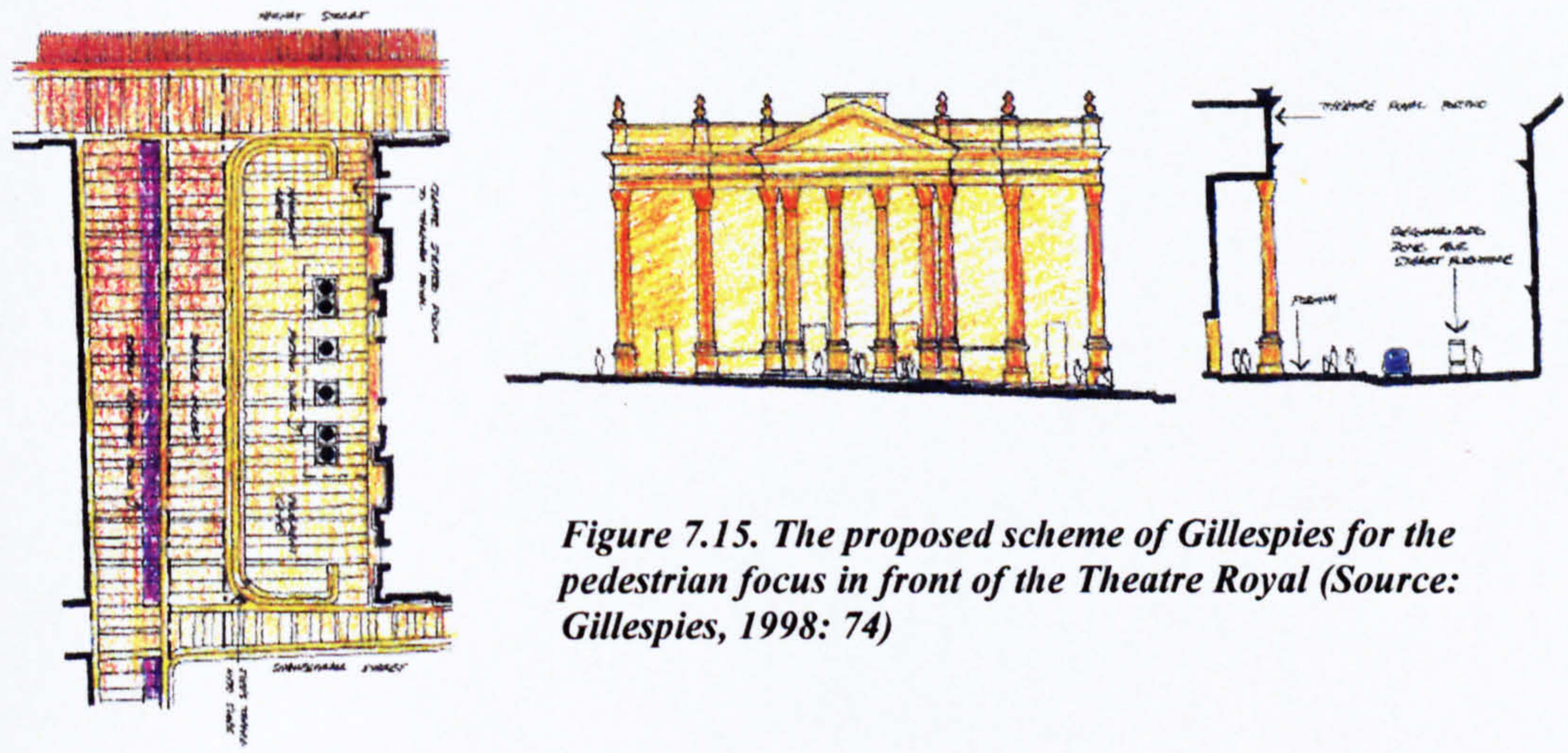

Figure 7.15. The proposed scheme of Gillespies for the pedestrian focus in front of the Theatre Royal (Source: Gillespies, 1998: 74)

Gillespies did not only influence the hard landscape design scheme of the GMA through '*Public Realm Strategy*', but also through participation in the meetings of the design team (ES Officer). The core design team sought the advice of Gillespies in specific issues, such as potential areas which would be difficult to lay down the pavement materials or to cut the pavement materials to fit into a particular space (The Project Manager).

As well as the hard landscaping of the GMA, the major design principles of street furniture and signs were also set up by the private professional consultancies, while the detailed design

principles were determined by the public and semi-public actors. Gillespies, which introduced the major design principles of street furniture and signs through the '*Public Realm Strategy*', did not only see street furniture and signs as the instruments which would ease the street life, but also enhance the aesthetic quality of public space. For them (1998: 73), street furniture (i.e., phone boxes, street light, seats, signs and litter boxes) should be 'co-ordinated', 'simple', 'elegant' and 'modern'. Gillespies (1998: 73) suggested them to be positioned on a reserved zone, which was to be curved-shaped in order to emphasise curving Grey Street, and so to stress on the aesthetic quality of Grey Street (Figure 7.13). Afterwards, Insite Environments drew the detailed design schemes of street furniture.

Similar to street furniture and signs, private professional consultancies played significant roles in identifying the main design principles of street lighting and public artworks. Gillespies was the first private consultancy which drew attention to the aesthetic qualities and the historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street by using street lighting and floodlighting. They (1998: 73) proposed that Grey Street be lit from shop fronts. For Gillespies (1998: 73), some buildings and activities should be particularly emphasised through lighting. Hence, they suggested Grey's Monument, the Theatre Royal, Emerson Chambers and the Central Arcade to be floodlit; and the important public entrances, such as markets, shopping malls, metro entrances, to be specially designed and illuminated. They (1998: 73) proposed that the means of delivery be simple, functional and minimal; and the floodlight resources be concealed. Gillespies (1998: 73) added that the proposed street lighting of Grey Street also would achieve security and safety.

The second private consultancy, which emphasised the aesthetic qualities and the historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street through street lighting, was Public Arts. Regarding the street lighting, Public Arts (1999: 24) aimed at restoring the fractured visual integrity of Grey Street; and maximising the aesthetic potential of Grey's Monument. Hence, they (1999: 25) suggested the current positioning of highways lighting and the lighting of the buildings on Grey Street to be arranged in order to emphasise visually the curve of the street. Public Arts had various ideas which not only underlined the aesthetic quality, but also the historical and cultural assets of Grey Street. They (1999: 26) proposed that the column clusters and sculptural features of the buildings be lit. Besides, they (1999) had individual proposals on the illumination of the Theatre Royal and Grey's Monument. Regarding the Theatre Royal, Public Arts (1999: 26) suggested the portico and façade of the building, and the new pedestrian focus in front of the Theatre Royal to be illuminated. As far as Grey's Monument is concerned, Public Arts (1999: 27) proposed that "a sedate, but bold" lighting for the column be sheathed in light and for the statue to be picked out against the night sky. Further, criticising the space around the Monument as 'over-illuminated',

they (1999: 27) suggested street level lighting to be more animated in parallel with the continuous flow of pedestrians. Moreover, Public Arts (1999: 27) proposed "a range of lighting-inclusive seating features". Another proposal of the private consultancy, which sought to improve the visual quality of the public space and to promote the historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street was the re-creation of the Lort Burn on Grey Street through "a naturalistic open water feature running down the pedestrianised part of Grey Street", and the lighting of this water feature (Public Arts, 1999: 14, 33).

The lighting and public artwork proposals of Public Arts were developed by other private professional consultancies. Creative Lighting Scheme of Grey's Monument, which was led by a private local practice, brought art and technology into the scheme through an outstanding idea in order to make Grey's Monument more impressive than it used to be. The lighting scheme promoted the historical and cultural image of Grey's Monument, by creating a hollowed image of Earl Grey in the two feet-square blocks, which were to be attached to glass and set in black granite, and then placed in the street-level plinth of the monument (Henderson, 2001a: 3). The blocks were to be lit from the side by a programmed light sequence which was to change colours (Henderson, 2001a: 3). People were to be able to walk on the glass and look down to see ghostly, twice-lifesize images of the Earl's face floating in black space (Henderson, 2001a: 3). The blocks were to be lit separately (Henderson, 2001a: 3). Simon Watkinson, the artist of the scheme, explains their aim of emphasising the symbolic meaning of Grey's Monument, by claiming that "Creative lighting is a vital part of showcasing almost every public building and we wanted to maximise the impact of the restoration work and re-establish Grey's Monument as a centrepiece of the city" (*The Grainger Town Project*, no date).

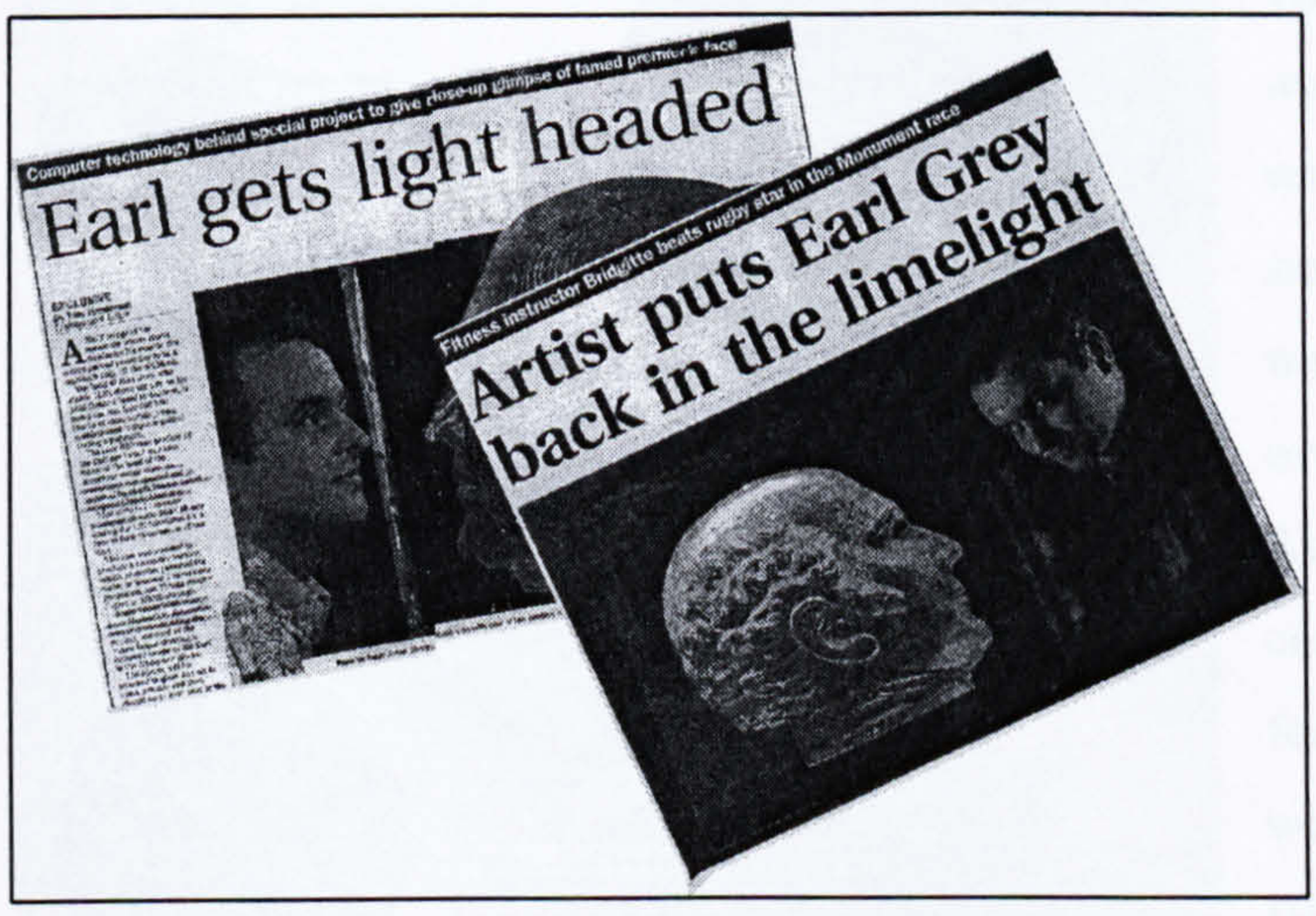

Figure 7.16. The Creative Lighting Scheme of the Grey's Monument in the newspapers (Source: Henderson, 2001: 3; Henderson, 2002: 11)

Creative Lighting Scheme of the Theatre Royal, which was designed by the same artist, also aimed at enhancing the aesthetic quality of the theatre building and promoting the historical legacy of Grainger Town, as explained by the artist of the scheme as follows:

> Creative lighting is a crucial part of showcasing a historic and beautiful area like Grainger Town which has so much wonderful architecture. It adds a new vibrancy and dynamism to the area and draws people's eyes skywards to see what is around them (Author unknown, 2002f: 5).

The scheme which involved the use of concealed light-emitted diodes to create red-gold-blue curtain effect in the building's portico, was designed to emphasise the function of the Theatre Royal (Author unknown, 2002f: 5).

As for the Lort Burn proposal of Public Art, the initial proposal was developed by another private actor. The design was based on the simulation of the Lort Burn, which is to include the watercourse with a depth of two-inch. The water feature would start near the Theatre Royal, flow into a channel down Grey Street, run under Mosley Street and re-emerge in Dean Street and reach the waterfront of The River Tyne (Henderson, 2001b: 3). When the water reached the riverside, it would be recycled and dumped back into the system (Henderson, 2001b: 3). The water feature would have a special wave effect. The channel into which the water would flow would contain stacked steel plates that would give the water a rippling appearance as it ran over the ridges (Henderson, 2001b: 3). Additionally, the water feature would create a variously-coloured illuminated feature with the help of lights which would be fitted under the plates (Henderson, 2001b: 3). Walkways, regularly crossing the water feature would provide a very special experience for pedestrians (Henderson, 2001b: 3).

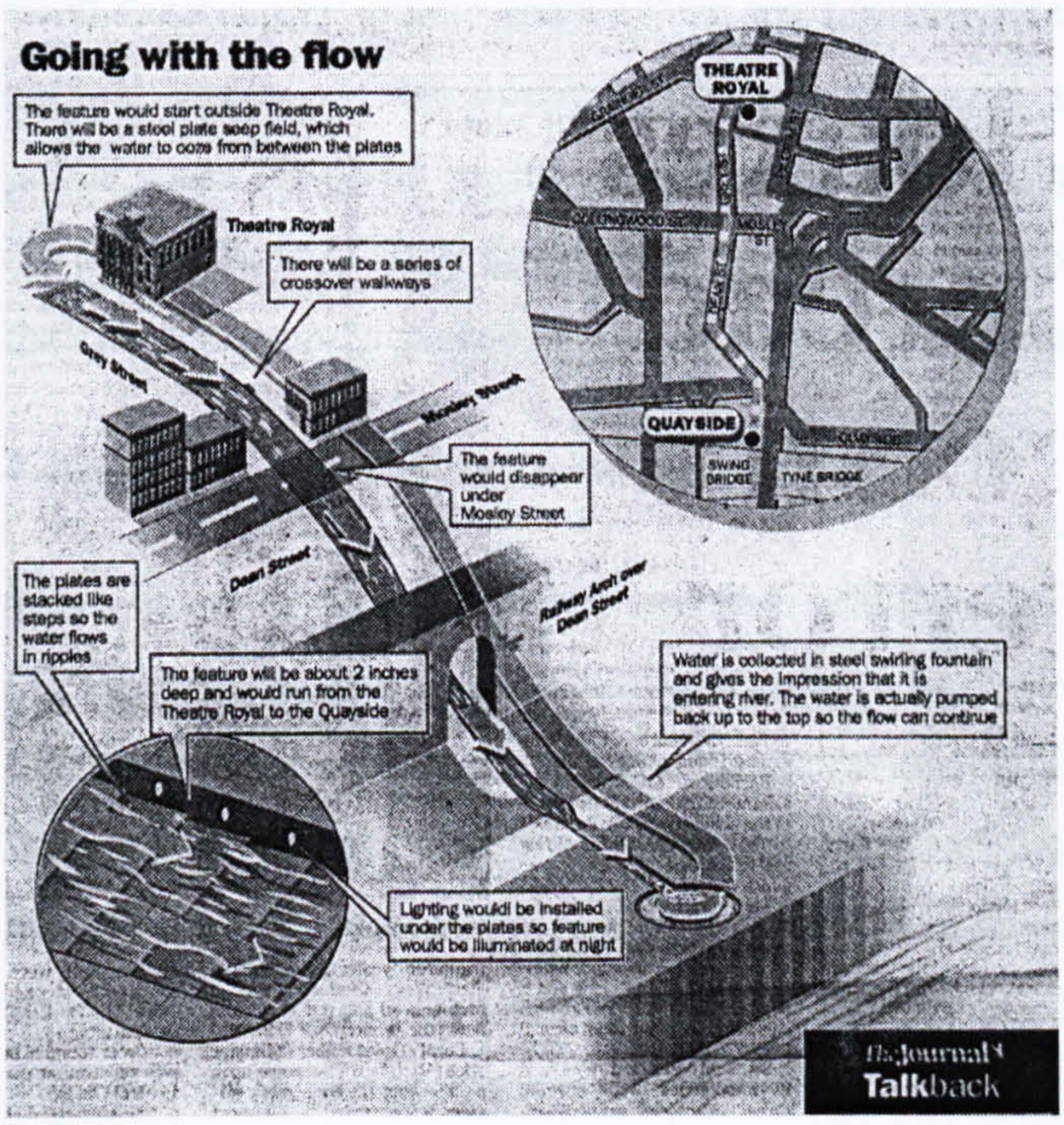

Figure 7.17. The Lort Burn design scheme (Source: Henderson, 2001: 3)

Mrs Schwartz claimed that the water feature should be bold, elegant and dignified, be made of simple and practical materials and use the playfulness of water but should not upstage the buildings of Grey Street (Henderson, 2001b: 3). Again, it is possible to see that the scheme sought

to improve the aesthetic quality of the public space, and to underline the historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street.

Another public artwork, which aimed at improving the quality of the public space, is the one for the entrances of Monument Metro Station. The artwork, which targeted to depict technological advances, was to be the engraving of designs on the granite walls flanking the two entrances to the metro station (Robinson, et. al., 2001: 51).

To sum up, private professional and technical consultancies of the GT Partnership and the NCC set the major design principles of the GMA public space improvement scheme. Although they were commissioned by public and semi-public actors, the involvement and dominance of these private actors in the design scheme of the GMA decreased the degree of the 'publicness' of the public space, and blurred the public-private distinction. It should be noted that the design ideas of private actors sought to develop a 'good-looking' and 'high-quality' public space, rather than a 'well-functioning' public space. They tried to promote particularly the aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street, and thus to emphasise the economic and symbolic values of the public space. In doing so, the private actors made the initial steps which led to use and promote the public space of Grey Street as an economic value generator for the regeneration of this part of the city centre and a means to create a good image for the city.

7.3.1.3.2 Public and semi-public actors

When the involvement of public and semi-public actors is examined, it is possible to note that the GT Partnership, as a semi-public actor, played key roles in the design process. Being one of the major driving forces and the main financiers of the GMA scheme, the involvement of the GT Partnership blurred the public-private distinction of the space, and decreased the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA. Nevertheless, the involvement of the NCC as the public actor is one of the major factors, which increased the 'publicness' of the GMA scheme. As well as the GT Partnership, the local authority was the major driving force of the scheme. They played leading roles by making the decisions on the major design principles and carrying out the detailed design works of the GMA scheme.

The GT Partnership and the NCC generally showed a collaborative attitude for various design issues throughout the planning and design process. Recognising the significance of 'good-looking', 'distinctive' and 'exclusive' public space for the success of the city centre regeneration and revitalisation and city-marketing and re-imaging strategies, both agencies worked together throughout the planning and design process to achieve their target. Both of them were influential

in the design of the new public space. The GT Partnership was particularly influential in making the decision of producing a high-quality public space with the use of Caithness stone as the pavement material (The GTP Executive Team). The local authority played a leading role in determining the major design principles about street furniture for the GMA by preparing the design brief. From the codes of the design brief, it is possible to note that the NCC not only aimed at standardising street furniture in Grainger Town and removing clutter from the area (*The Grainger Town Project*, no date); but also emphasised the use of 'high-quality' and 'good-looking' street furniture with chic, stylish and elegant materials, and the introduction of artworks into the public spaces in order to draw attention to the history and symbolic meaning of Grainger Town. The codes, which emphasise these design principles, are as follows:

- Street furniture should be high quality, commercially available suite, or easy to be repaired and reproduced;
- As well as the sculptured pieces, a limited amount of bespoke pieces will be provided as elements of public arts to emphasise the significance of the key streets and spaces like the entrance to Grey Street and Grainger Street;
- Height, scale and massing of the street furniture should fit into the urban street scene;
- Bespoke pieces should be contemporary, innovative and expressive;
- Street furniture should be robust and contemporary and appropriate to their location and united by the use of materials, details and construction techniques;
- The material, which might be used for street furniture, are natural stone, stainless steel and timber. The materials such as bronze, wrought iron and glass will be encouraged;
- Bright colours and paint finishes should be avoided (Newcastle City Council, 2000).

Later on, the GT Partnership and the local authority acted together regarding street furniture of the GMA. They decided to use polished granite for the seating base, stainless steel for the litterbins, and specially toughened glass for the seating backrest (*The Grainger Town Project*, no date). Both actors wanted to create a distinctive public space in Grey Street and were aware of the significance of street furniture in order to develop a distinctive public space, as can be noted from the statement of the Director of the GTP Executive Team:

> We tried to create an open space within Grainger Town that is free of lots of the street furniture and other clutter which tends to typify a lot of UK cities (The Director of the GTP Executive Team, cited in Niven, 2001: 15).

The GT Partnership and the NCC recognised street furniture of the GMA (and Grainger Town) as the instrument, which would not only ease the street life, but also create a 'distinctive' public space, as stated below:

> We need to have furniture that not only complements Richard Grainger's classical designs throughout the area, but that is beautiful, functional and practical in its own right. The ideas and designs that Insite Environments has put forward are very exciting and will highlight the best features of Grainger's buildings throughout the heart of the city. It will add extra impetus to our bid to become the European City of Culture. (The Leader of the NCC and the Chair of the GT Partnership, cited in *The Grainger Town Project*, no date)

The statement of the Leader of the local authority and the Chair of the GT Partnership clearly shows that public and semi-public actors did not only see the street furniture of the GMA as the instrument which would not simply serve the daily needs of the public on the street, but also create a 'distinctive' public space that would please the eyes, underline the historical, cultural and aesthetic legacy of Grey Street. It is also possible to note that they saw the public space of the GMA with such street furniture as an instrument which would help Newcastle to be successful in the bid to become the European City of Culture, and thus re-build its image as the 'capital of culture'. The emphasis on the aesthetic and symbolic function of the street furniture of the GMA rather than their regular daily functions can also be found in the following statement of another prominent figure of the GT Project:

> We envisage each seat being a piece of artwork in itself. The strengthened glass that forms the centrepiece of the seating areas will contain a selection of Grainger Town images that will either be shot-blast, etched or stained onto the glass. This will then be highlighted by a subtle lighting effect contained at the base of each seat enabling the image to change colour. The end result should be very impressive. (The GT Board Member and the Chair of the UDP, cited in *The Grainger Town Project*, no date)

To sum up, from the statements shown above, it is possible to note the ambition of public and semi-public actors to create the public space of the GMA with chic, stylish, elegant street furniture which would ease the street life, as well as embellish the city, promote the aesthetic, historical and cultural assets of Grainger Town. The statements above also show that public and semi-public actors saw the new public space of the GMA with the new qualities as the means which would help Newcastle to manufacture its image as a 'capital of culture'.

A similar attitude can also be traced with regard to the approach of the GT Partnership and the NCC towards street signs for the GMA and Grainger Town. For both public and semi-public actors, apart from the regular functions of street signs to show people where they are, to give direction towards other parts of the city or to give a warning, they would function to promote the historical and cultural legacy of Grainger Town. They wanted the street signs to carry the words 'Grainger Town' and Newcastle City crest, and thus to give the message for tourists and local

people that they are in the historic heart of the city centre (*The Grainger Town Project*, no date). Here, they saw the new street signs for Grainger Town as the means to show and underline the unique image of Grainger Town to tourists and local people, and so help to regenerate Grainger Town as a tourist destination, to build a new image (European regional capital) for Newcastle and to use this new image in order to find a position for the city in the urban markets, as stated below by the leading figures of the GT Project and the local authority:

> This latest scheme is sure to increase public awareness of Grainger Town and strengthen its place as a tourist destination. The new street sign initiative is part of our on-going strategy to boost Newcastle City Centre well into the new millennium and beyond. (The GT Board Member and The chief executive of Northumbria Tourist Board, cited in *The Grainger Town Project*, no date)

> The new scheme is a further step towards fulfilling our commitment to improving the Grainger Town area, and making it an even more attractive location for visitors to the city. This will reinforce the unique identity that we are creating for Grainger Town as the centrepiece of Newcastle's emergence as a European regional capital. (The Leader of the NCC and the Chair of the GT Partnership, cited in *The Grainger Town Project*, no date)

There is no direct evidence which shows that the street signs of Grey Street have been particularly used as the means to regenerate this part of the city centre and to re-image and market the city. But, the approach of the GT Partnership and the NCC towards the street signs of Grainger Town is also relevant to those of the GMA. As a part of the street sign scheme of Grainger Town, it is possible to argue that the GT Partnership and the NCC encouraged the use of the street signs for the GMA in order to highlight the unique image of Grainger Town to tourists and local people, and so help to regenerate Grainger Town (and Grey Street) as a tourist destination, to build a new image for Newcastle and to use this new image in order to promote the city in urban markets.

Again, it is possible to see the same attitude of the GT Partnership and the local authority, regarding Creative Lighting Scheme of the Theatre Royal, which was undertaken as a part of the public space scheme of the GMA. The lighting scheme is seen as a means to help Newcastle to be successful in the bid to become the European Capital of Culture, as stated below:

> We are probably behind some European cities in the way we use lighting but within 18 months we hope to be up there with the best, which will all help with the European Capital of Culture bid. (The Director of the GTP Executive Team, cited in Author unknown, 2002f: 5)

Creating Lighting Scheme of the Theatre Royal is also remarkable in terms of exemplifying the policies of the GT Partnership and the local authority to promote the symbolic, historical, and

cultural values of Grainger Town. The Leader of the NCC and the Chair of the GT Partnership clearly claims as follows:

> The theatre is a jewel and the first to be lit in a scheme which will highlight the dramatic architecture and presence of Grainger Town and show what heritage we have got, which is as good as anywhere. (The Leader of the NCC and the Chair of the GT Partnership; cited in Author unknown, 2002f: 5)

> Lighting schemes like this are vitally important as they showcase the splendour of Grainger Town without detracting from or interfering with its beauty (The Leader of the NCC and the Chair of the GT Partnership, cited in Henderson, 2001a: 3)

From the statements above, it is possible to indirectly see that, through the Creative Lighting Scheme, public and semi-public actors encouraged the development of the public space of the GMA which would promote the symbolic, historical and cultural values of Grainger Town. It is also possible to note that they saw the new public space of the GMA with the new lighting scheme as an instrument, which would help Newcastle to manufacture its image as a 'capital of culture', and use this image in order to promote the city in competitive urban markets.

Figure 7.18. The urban regeneration and city-marketing policies of the GT Partnership and the NCC based on the historical and cultural legacy of Grainger Town (Source: The GT Project, 1999c)

Therefore, both the GT Partnership and the NCC played a leading role in creating a distinctive-looking public space, by promoting the aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street and Grainger Town, and by encouraging the use of chic, stylish and elegant materials, as well as the use of 'art' in the design of the public space. The evidences showed that the major reason, which public and semi-public actors wanted to develop a public space with such design qualities is to use it as a means to build new images for Newcastle and to market it as a European Capital of Culture and a European Regional Capital. The evidences also helped us to trace that the GT Partnership and the NCC tried to develop a public space with such design elements in order to use it as an instrument to regenerate this part of the city centre. By seeing and promoting the public space of Grey Street as a means to re-image and market

Newcastle and to attract inward investment to the city, both the GT Partnership and the NCC played an entrepreneurial role, as well as their facilitating and co-ordinating role.

Despite the effort of the public and semi-public actors to produce a beautiful and attractive public space, it is possible to note the attempt of the local authority to create a 'well-functioned' public space. For example, the core design team were particularly concerned about accessibility for disabled people. As well as the standard surface treatments, which are used in public space schemes for the accessibility of disabled people, the design team proposed the use of special materials for Grey Street, such as higher quality tactile pavement material, traffic lights with audible signals[3] and 'cord-ride paving' (ES Officer). Cord-ride paving, which serves to indicate for blinds that there will be steps, is unique for this project (ES Officer). Another example can be given about the size of the pavement slabs. The GT Board wanted large slabs of Caithness stone to be laid down on the whole area (ES Officer). However, arguing that big slabs might be broken by heavy service cars which would be allowed to drive on the edges of the street, and showing the high repair cost of the pavement to the public authority, the ES Department of the City Council preferred to cover small slabs of Caithness stone on the edges of the street and to lay large slabs of Caithness stone down at the middle part of the street (ES Officer). As a result of the discussions between both parties, the design idea of the City Council was implemented in the design scheme (ES Officer). A third example relates to Market Street, which was declared by the City Council as a city distributive road (The member of the UDP). The GT Board opposed this idea, arguing that the traffic on Market Street, as a significant traffic artery, cut through Grainger Town, and negatively influenced the site (The member of the UDP). For them, the high value retailing did not move to the south of Grey Street due to the heavy traffic on Market Street (The member of the UDP). Despite the opposing views, the GT Board could not change the idea of the City Council on this issue (The member of the UDP).

7.3.1.3.3 Advisory groups

As far as the advisory bodies of the GT Board are concerned, they did not have much influence in the design of the public space. The members of the BF were concerned about the impact of traffic restraint on their business, and the need for more car parking space (The Project Manager; ES Officer; The GT Project, 1998b). In spite of their concerns, they did not achieve any change in the design of the GMA scheme. This was also the case for the RF. During the whole design process, the GT Board consulted the RF about various design issues, ranging from the pavement material, kerbs and the corners, to street lighting and public artworks (The member of the RF; The GT

[3] Traffic lights with audible signals bleep to indicate pedestrians the time to cross the road.

Project, 1998c; The GT Project, 1998d; The GT Project, 1998e). The members of The Forum were generally supportive of the design proposals of the GMA (The GT Project, 1998a; The GT Project, 1999d). This can also be seen below, as a member of the RF states:

> I think there was already a vision, a strategy. We just tried to give some comments, and when people gave some kind of slide show, like Gillespies, we said what we liked and what we didn't like. ... Nothing yet has been done in the Grainger Town Project where the RF had a sort of screaming, and shouting 'Ah this is what we wanted at all!'. I think, there is general sort of supportive and fairly consensual sort of support to the whole thing. (The member of the RF, 2000)

Despite their presence, the RF did not have, therefore, any influence on the design of the GMA. As far as the UDP is concerned, the Panel put proposals forward about such issues as the size of slabs, paving types, curb of the bus route on Blackett Street, the pavement material of roundabouts, edge treatment of the buildings (ES Officer). Despite these proposals, the influence of the Panel on the design process was limited (The member of the UDP; The Project Manager; ES Officer). The Panel had an opportunity to influence the detailed design issues, rather than the basic design principles, as stated below:

> The design process has a number of phases. First, Gillespies, the GT Partnership and the City Council set the main design principles of the public space. ... the design scheme was completed. This scheme was presented to the UDP. So when the UDP saw the design scheme, the main planning and design principles (such as the use of the Caithness stone and to create a public space based on simplicity) were already set. So, the UDP did not have a chance to contribute to the major planning and design principles, really. But, on the other hand, the Panel did not have any objections on these principles either. Now, I think, the UDP has an influence (*in the design scheme*). This influence is to modify a little bit, to fine tune a little bit. But that's it. I think, that is the area in which their influence occurred. I don't think that its role has ever been or ever could be to set the basic principles itself. (The member of the UDP; 2000; italics added)

The UDP were mainly interested in the aesthetic aspects of the design of the public space. They sometime had conflict with the highway engineers of the local authority who were concerned about the functional quality of the design rather than its visual quality. The example about the design of Brunswick Place (the part between Emerson Chambers and Monument Mall) is remarkable. The highway engineers suggested black asphalt to be laid down on the entrance of Brunswick Place, because of the heavy vehicles, which were used to drive through the street (ES Officer). They had to ensure that the surface treatment would last long. The UDP objected to this surface treatment idea (ES Officer). Despite their objections, the site was designed as the engineers suggested (ES Officer). Here, it is also important to see how The Project Manager of

the GMA scheme (a technical staff of the local authority) explains their role and the role of the UDP in the design process:

> We get ideas from them (*referring to the UDP*), they don't directly influence the design. What we do is we can do anyway. Because they look at the materials and that sort of things. But they look at the scheme from urban design point of view. There is always potential conflict between what they would like to see and what we can actually provide in terms of having a place which actually works. Sometimes the UDP would be really bottom line. As we experience in the city centre that cannot work. We have to have these compromises and balances between pedestrian areas, etc. But the UDP can again advise Grainger Town Board as to what they feel and the materials which should be used and etc. (The Project Manager, 2000; italics added)

Neither the BF nor the RF was, therefore, influential in the design of the scheme, while the UDP had a very small influence in the scheme.

From the interviews above, it is possible to note that the advisory groups functioned as the fora of transparency and openness about the decision-making process of the design of the public space. Yet, from the interviews with the member of RF and the project manager, it is possible to see that these fora did not function as environments for the members of the groups to influence and even change the opinions about the design of the public space. The interchange of the information about the design of the public space in these arenas was mostly one-way flow towards the members of the advisory groups. Despite the presence of these advisory groups, the absence of a public forum where the public and public actors mutually expressed, exchanged and influenced opinions about the design of the public space has undermined, therefore, the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA.

To sum up, the main design principles of the GMA development scheme were set by a group of public and semi-public actors and their private professional consultancies. Even though the private consultancies worked under the leadership of public and semi-public actors, their involvement and dominance in the design scheme of the GMA brought about the decrease in the extent of the 'publicness' of the public space. The involvement of the GT Partnership as the semi-public actor is another factor which blurred the public-private distinction of the space, and reduced the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA. Nevertheless, the involvement of the NCC as the public actor is the major factor which increased the 'publicness' of the design process. As far as the advisory bodies of the GT Board are concerned, they did not have much influence in the design of the public space.

The private consultancies proposed the key design principles to develop a 'good-looking' and 'high-quality' public space, rather than a 'well-functioning' public space, to promote particularly the aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street, and thus to emphasise its economic and symbolic values of the public space. These proposals were widely accepted by the public and semi-public actors which collaborated throughout the design process. Both actors were influential in creating a distinctive, high-quality and good-looking public space in the GMA by promoting the aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street and Grainger Town, and by encouraging the use of chic, stylish and elegant materials, as well as the use of 'art' in the design of the public space. They recognised and promoted the public space of Grey Street as a means to re-build a new image for Newcastle and market it as a European Capital of Culture and European Regional Capital, and to regenerate this part of the city centre. By seeing and promoting the public space of Grey Street as a means to re-image and market Newcastle and to attract inward investment to the city, they were also notable in terms of their entrepreneurial role in the design process. As well as their ambition to produce a beautiful and attractive public space, it is possible to note the attempt of the local authority to create a 'well-functioned' public space.

7.3.1.4 The public consultation

After the preparation of the GMA development scheme in consultation with the private consultancies and the groups, with which were targeted to be worked by the GT Partnership and the local authority, the core design team presented the scheme of the public space to the GT Board (The GTP Executive Team; HAT Officer). The GT Board consulted the advisory groups, and declared that they agreed on the proposed design scheme (The GTP Executive Team).

In parallel to this consultation, the local authority carried out the standard public consultation as a legal procedure (HAT Officer). They consulted a number of agencies, which were three councillors, Tyne and Wear Fire Brigade, Northumbria Ambulance Service, NEXUS, Automobile Association, Royal Automobile Club, NODA, Freight Transportation Association, Cyclists' Touring Club, North East Chamber of Commerce Trade and Industry, Disabled Forum, Royal Mail, bus operator companies and Road Haulage Association (HAT Officer). It is possible to note that these agencies were the representatives of public and private actors. Public actors were represented by local government agents which can use the public space to provide some services related to public transportation, public health and safety, and mail delivery. Private actors who were involved in the public consultation, included those who use public spaces to provide some essential services. This group was mainly presented by the private business interest related to car-breakdown services and the services related to transportation of people and goods. In addition, it

is possible to note the semi-public actors who represent the interest of disabled people and cyclists (Table 7.9).

Actors	Public-Private Nature
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Newcastle City Councillor	Public
Tyne and Wear Fire Brigade (32)	Public
Northumbria Ambulance Service (33)	Public
NEXUS	Public
The Automobile Association (34)	Private
Royal Automobile Club (35)	Private
NODA	Private
Freight Transportation Association (36)	Private
Cyclists' Touring Club (37)	More public than private
North East Chamber of Commerce Trade	Private
Disabled Forum (38)	More public than private
Royal Mail (39)	Public
Bus operator companies	Private
Road Haulage Association (40)	Private

Table 7.9. The public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the consultation process

Of these agencies, bus operator companies, Cyclists' Touring Club and NODA expressed their concern about the proposed scheme, while the others supported it. Bus operator companies objected to the proposal of the pedestranisation of Blackett Street, arguing that Blackett Street was used to be an important bus road with over a hundred buses in an hour particularly in peak time of day (The GTP Executive Team; The member of the UDP). Their objection was widely accepted by the local authority, which realised that the pedestrianisation of Blackett Street would close one of the major east-west connections of the city centre to vehicular traffic, and consequently overload other streets within the city centre (The GTP Executive Team). As an alternative, they decided to keep Blackett Street as a bus route, but to narrow down the carriageway of the street, and to pave it by a grey-colour material which would give an impression of a pedestrian area for the carriageway (The GTP Executive Team). In addition, the local authority decided to install a CCTV in Blackett Street in order to reduce and control the driving speed of buses (The GTP Executive Team).

Another actor, which expressed their concern about the design of the GMA, is Cyclists' Touring Club. The Club suggested a particular surface treatment for Blackett Street, namely 'rumble stripes', which was to serve to reduce vehicle speeds through a series of gaps along the road surface (HAT Officer). The suggestion was widely accepted by the local authority and was introduced to the scheme (HAT Officer).

Finally, NODA, which presented the taxis operating on the northern part of Grey Street, objected to the proposed design scheme which included the idea of relocating the taxi rank at the north of Grey Street to Hood Street (The GTP Executive Team; ES Officer). They argued that the new location of the taxi rank was not as visible as the previous one (ES Officer). Yet, their objection was not accepted by the local authority (The GTP Executive Team; ES Officer).

After the consulted agencies were heard, the core design team made modifications to the public space scheme (HAT Officer). Since the GMA development scheme was a highway scheme, carried out by the local authority, it was not subject to planning permission (HAT Officer). For this reason, it did not require the consultation which is open to all (HAT Officer). The lack of consultation which is open to all segments of the public is an important feature that undermines the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA scheme. It is another missing opportunity for some segments of the public, such as the primary and daily users of the public space, such as shoppers, pedestrians, bus and metro passengers who use the public space of Grey Street on a daily basis, to access the planning and design process and to express their opinions about the scheme.

The small number of the agencies which were involved in the public consultation is another characteristics of the planning and design process which undermined the 'publicness' of the GMA development scheme. The GMA is a public space which is visited by hundreds of people at day and night, ranging form pedestrians, bus and metro passengers, shopkeepers, their employees, office workers, customers of the retailers and offices, taxi and bus drivers, bus companies. Yet, a small number of actors (only 17 actors) were involved in the consultation process (Table 7.9).

To sum up, despite this big number and the variety of users of the GMA, the public consultation was only open to a small group of public and private actors. Although various groups had a chance to raise their voice through the advisory groups and the standard public consultation, there was a need to create a public arena which is open to all segments of the public, and where everybody who wants could freely express, exchange and influence opinions on the design of the public space. Even though this was the responsibility of the local authority, it is possible to note that the City Council did not make any genuine effort to create a discussion forum for all segments of the public. In other words, the local authority collaborated with the groups that they targeted, rather than all segments of the public. This is a remarkable aspect, which undermined the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA.

7.3.2 Construction process

The construction process of the GMA scheme started in 1999 (The GT Project, 1999b). The construction works of the site were carried out in various phases. First, within the context of the hard landscaping of the GMA, the northern part of Grey Street was re-paved with Caithness stone; Blackett Street was re-modelled as a controlled-bus route; taxi rank and car-parking areas, located along Grey Street from Market Street to Shakespeare Street, were removed; and this part of the public space was turned into a pedestrian-priority site. In addition, two pedestrian foci on Grey Street were arranged as gathering places. The construction works of this phase, which cost £2 million, completed in 2000 (The GT Project, 1999; *The Grainger Town Project*, no date). Within the context of the street sign scheme of Grainger Town, some street signs were repaired and restored, while the rest were removed and replaced by the new ones (*The Grainger Town Project*, no date). The street signs for the GMA improvement scheme were installed in 2000 (Author unknown, 2000a: The Project Manager). Third, Grey's Monument was renovated and cleaned within the framework of the GMA scheme. The renovation and cleaning work of Grey's Monument was completed in 2000 (Author unknown, 2000b: 1). Subsequently, Creative Lighting Scheme of the Theatre Royal finished in January, 2002 (Author unknown, 2002f: 5). Creative Lighting Scheme of Grey's Monument, the public art scheme for the entrance of Monument Metro Station and street furniture were installed to the site in July 2002. The works related to The Lort Burn Scheme are in progress (*The Grainger Town Project*, no date).

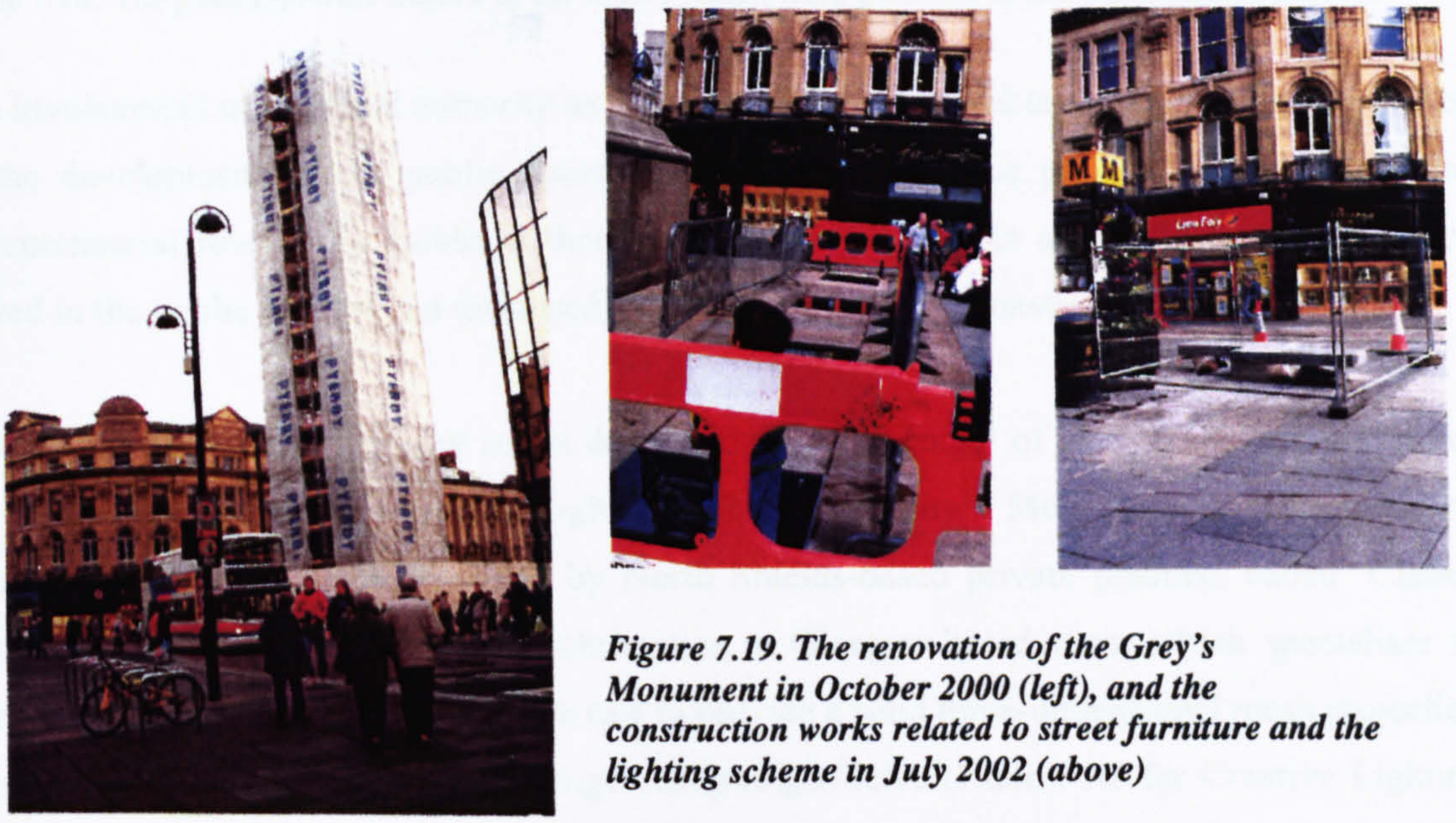

Figure 7.19. The renovation of the Grey's Monument in October 2000 (left), and the construction works related to street furniture and the lighting scheme in July 2002 (above)

The construction works of the public space were carried out by a group of public and private actors which constituted the GT Partnership, the local authority and their private professional and

technical consultancies and contractors (Table 7.10). The GT Partnership and the NCC (that is, semi-public and public actors) played the leading roles in the construction process. As far as the construction of the hard landscaping of the GMA is concerned, there is a significant dominance of public and semi-public actors. The GT Partnership led the scheme, while City Works of the NCC acted as a contractor, and City Engineering and HAT departments of the local authority supervised City Works (The GTP Executive Team; HAT Officer; ES Officer). Beside the construction work of the hard landscaping, public and semi-public actors financed the restoration scheme of Grey's Monument. The first phase of the scheme, which constituted the restoration and cleaning work, cost £260,000, and was funded by the GT Partnership (£90,000), the City Council (£70,000), and through the Heritage Lottery Fund (£100,000) (*The Grainger Town Project*, no date). Being the driving force of, and playing the leading role in the construction process, the presence of the local authority as the public actor increased the 'publicness' of the construction process of the GMA scheme. Yet, the presence and dominance of the GT Partnership as a semi-public actor blurs the public-private distinction of the urban space, and decreased the 'publicness' of the GMA scheme.

Actors	Public-Private Nature
The GT Partnership	More public than private
The NCC	Public
Simon Watkinson	Private
Classic Masonry	Private
Archaepotics	Private
The agency which grants the Heritage Lottery (41)	Public

Table 7.10. The public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the construction process

The involvement of the local authority as the contractor of the hard landscaping scheme resulted in the development of the public space at the least cost to the public. This manifests the entrepreneurial role of the public authority. Their involvement is a significant feature which served in the public interest and increased the 'publicness' of the construction scheme.

However, the presence of private actors decreased the 'publicness' of the construction process of the GMA scheme. When Creative Lighting Scheme of Grey's Monument is concerned, the Monument was cleaned and restored by North Shields-based private practice, called 'Classic Masonry' (Henderson, 2001a: 3). Archaeoptics, a Glasgow-based firm, which specialises in scanning sensitive material, scanned the cast to provide a solid three-dimensional mesh projection on a computer screen (www.newcastle.gov.uk/grainger/default1.htm). As for Creative Lighting Scheme of the Theatre Royal, Simon Watkinson, the designer of the scheme, led the construction work, while the engineers from the local authority provided the technical support for the construction work of the scheme (Author unknown, 2002f: 5; ES Officer). Although they worked

under the control of public and semi-public actors, the involvement of private professional and technical consultancies in the construction process is a remarkable feature which decreased the extent of the 'publicness' of the GMA scheme.

As can be seen above, the construction process of the GMA scheme was open mainly to the GT Partnership, the local authority and their private professional assistant teams. The activities of the construction process were not open to the public due to health and safety concerns. The public were kept informed about the construction process through the news in the local media and Grainger Town Life Magazine (The GTP Executive Team). Nevertheless, the interviews conducted show that the public access to the information about the construction process was limited. The first example is the interview with the forty-year-old taxi driver, who used to operate in Grey Street. He argues that the construction process was closed to the hackney carriages operating in the site:

> ***Taxi driver V:*** What they (*the officers of the local authority*) did do, they came and closed the road down to take the service off. They were gonna just scrap the rank all together. That was there. There were myself and about two or three others were here when they came. And we argued with them, we said, you can't do that way, you've got to put off the rank. You've never had any notification that you were gonna shift it, any thing like that. So, this used to be loading bay. So they gave us this as a rank... Two-car rank!
>
> ***Interviewer:*** So they didn't even inform you that they had moved the taxi rank?
>
> ***Taxi driver V:*** Not until about a weekend before, that it was definite, there was a lot of speculation and a lot of rumour that it was gonna happen. But, when we found out that it was gonna happen, it was the weekend they started to work on the site. I think, they came a Friday or something like that, and they were back on Monday and when we came, the road was closed down. (Taxi driver V, 2000; italics added)

Another interviewee who mentioned the limited public access to the information about the construction process is an officer of the local authority. Reporting that, before the street furniture was installed in the site, the public complained about the lack of street furniture on Grey Street, the officer admits that the public does not know about the main design principle and the construction process (ES Officer).

The design scheme did not change during the construction process (ES Officer). The construction process went smoothly without tension among actors (ES Officer).

To summarise, the construction process of the GMA improvement scheme was carried out by a small group of public, semi-public and private actors. By playing the leading and entrepreneurial

roles in the construction process, the public actors increased the 'publicness' of the construction process. Yet, the involvement of semi-public and private actors blurred the public-private distinction of the space, and decreased the 'publicness' of the construction process of the GMA. Another aspect which reduced the 'publicness' of the GMA is the limited access of the public to the information about the construction process.

7.3.3 Management and maintenance process

The management and maintenance of the GMA are mainly under the responsibility of public actors. The provision of cleaning and repair services is the responsibility of the City Council (The GTP Executive Team; HAT Officer). The local authority also runs the on-street car parks in Grey Street (The GTP Executive Team; HAT Officer). The City Police are charged with the security services of the public space (The GTP Executive Team; HAT Officer). Thus, the GMA is mainly managed and maintained publicly (Table 7.11).

Actors	Public-Private Nature
The NCC	Public
City Police	Public
City Centre Management (42)	More public than private
Fm's public house	Private
Legends nightclub	Private
The Theatre Royal (43)	More public than private
Costa Café	Private
Hackney carriages	Private

Table 7.11. The public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the management and maintenance process

Nonetheless, there are some components which blur the public-private distinction of the space, and reduce the 'publicness' of the GMA. First, the City Centre Management, a semi-public actor (42), which organise some events in the public spaces in the city centre, including pedestrian gathering places in Grey Street (Gillespies, 1998: 61), blurs the public-private distinction of the space. Another component, which blurs the public-private distinction of the space, is the street café. The Theatre Royal, as a semi-public actor, operates the pavement café on the public space in front of their premise (Figure 7.20). This is also an indication of the commercialisation of the public space, because the public space has started to be used in order to produce profit. There are also the interventions of the private actors into the management of the public space. On the one hand, the security guards of both the FM's public house and the Legends nightclub intervene in the operation of the public space when their security is jeopardised. On the other hand, taxis park on, and occupy the pedestrian-priority part, just on the junction of Grey Street and Hood Street (Figure 7.21). These interventions of the private actors decrease the 'publicness' of the GMA (Table 7.11). Although these factors reduce the 'publicness' of the GMA, it should be noted that

the use of the pavement as the street café and the special public events organised on Grey Street, contribute to the creation of lively and colourful street scene, and enhance the 'publicness' of the GMA to a certain extent.

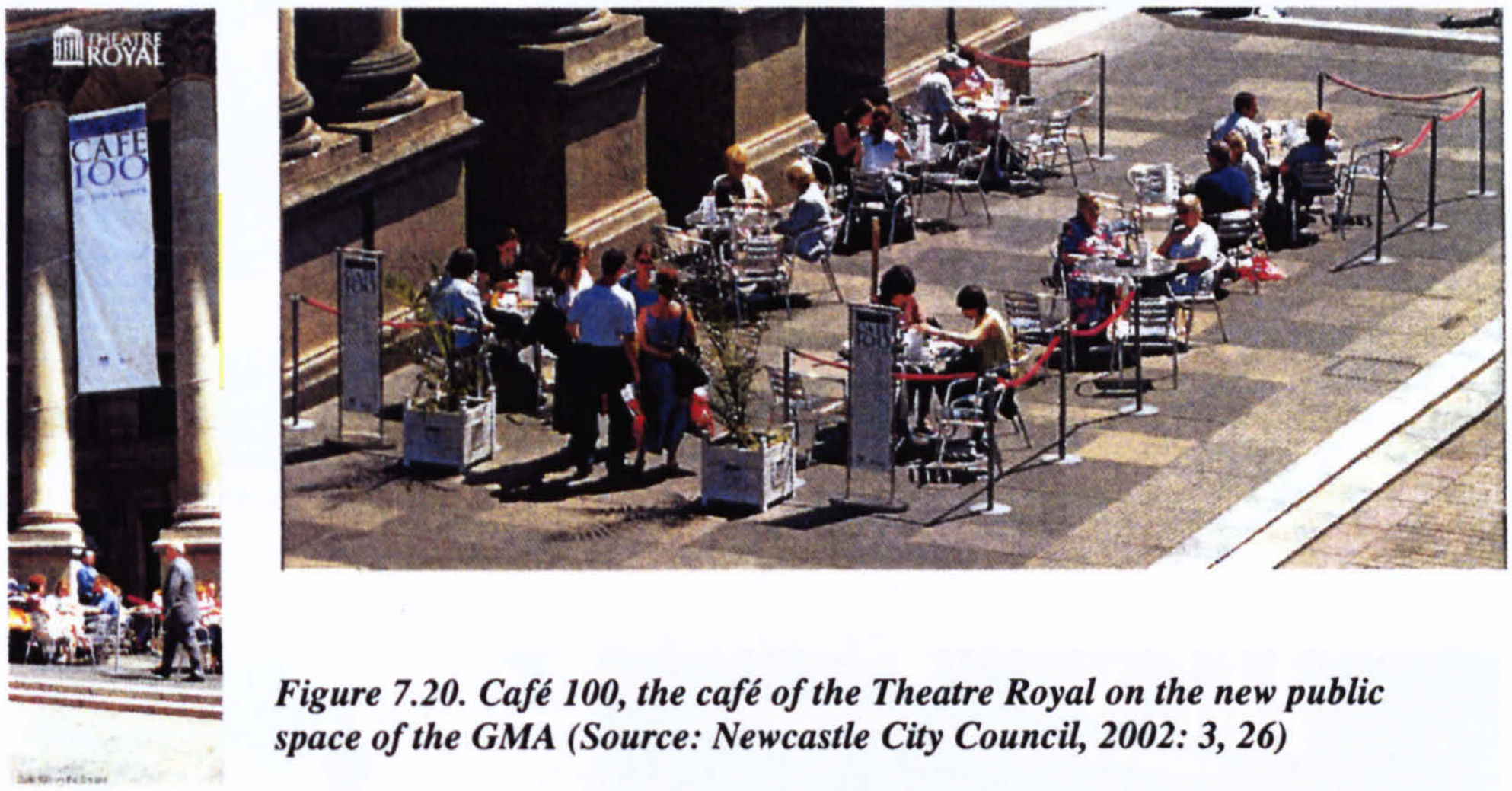

Figure 7.20. Café 100, the café of the Theatre Royal on the new public space of the GMA (Source: Newcastle City Council, 2002: 3, 26)

Figure 7.21. Taxis occupying the pedestrian-priority part of Grey Street at late-evening hours

After the development scheme, another remarkable change is the increase in the care on the maintenance of the GMA and its environs, particularly compared to the old GMA. The City Council seek to keep the GMA and its surroundings clean. There are sweeping cars and cleaners, cleaning the area at day and night (Figure 7.22). The local authority also seek to improve the aesthetic quality of the public space by introducing the multi-layered pots placed on the pavement, and the pots of flowers hung on the street lights and iron-made columns (Figure 7.23). Additionally, beside the standard public phones, new public phones with the facilities of sending text messages and emails, searching on the Internet and finding information about the city, were introduced into the northern end of the GMA (Figure 7.24). Moreover, there is the electronic-help kiosk for the public and tourists to give information about the city at the junction of Blackett Street and Northumberland Street, which is in close proximity to the GMA (Figure 7.24). Hence,

there has been a significant increase in the maintenance of the new GMA, when compared to the old one.

Figure 7.22. The increasing care of the public authorities in the maintenance of the public space

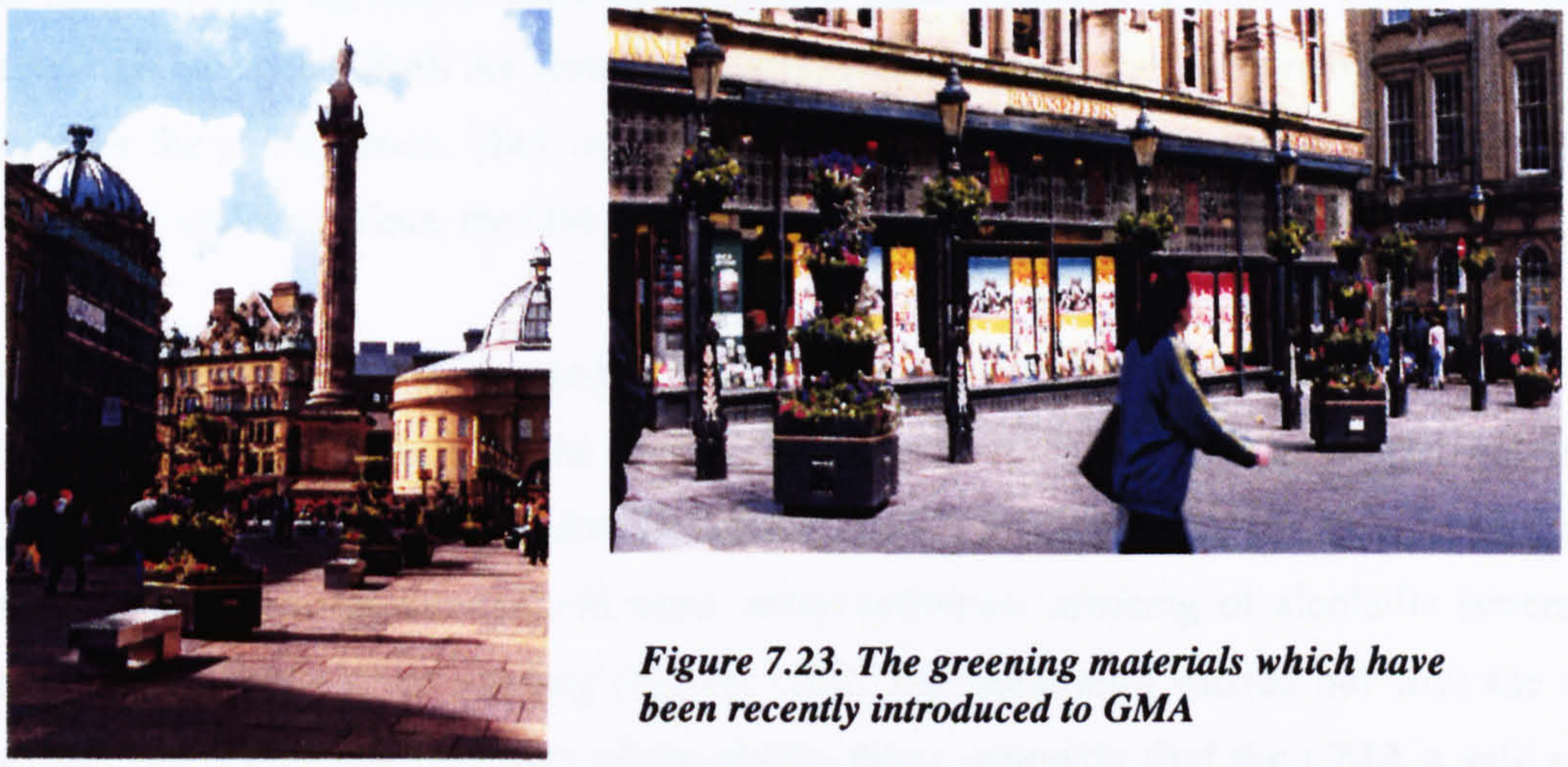

Figure 7.23. The greening materials which have been recently introduced to GMA

Figure 7.24. The new means of information and communication in the GMA

Seventeen interviewees, which comprise different user groups from pedestrians, street traders, taxi drivers, retailers and office users to the members of the RF, the UDP and the officers of the

local authority and the GTP Executive Team, claim that the GMA is a well-maintained public space. The majority of interviewees state that they are happy with the management services of the public space.

Another significant change in the management of the GMA is the increase in the control imposed into the GMA. There are two security cameras of the City Police, which are the means of control for the new public space. One of these security cameras is at the south bank of Blackett Street (9-15, Blackett Street), which monitors the west of Blackett Street. The other security camera is at the north of Grainger Street (159, Grainger Street) in order to watch Blackett Street, around Grey's Monument. The local authority is planning to install digital cameras along Blackett Street to monitor buses and their speed, and so discourage buses from driving fast along Blackett Street (HAT Officer). As well as the security cameras, the GMA is a highly lit public space, particularly because of the special lighting scheme of the public space. Lighting is another means of control for the new public space. Both the security cameras and the street lighting perform as the means of control for the public space. They intimidate undesirable groups such as the homeless people, and discourage violence. Thus, the GMA has become more controlled than before.

Despite the increasing control imposed on the public space, the GMA is highly accessible. It is not unusual to see groups such as the homeless people, musicians or public performers, noisy teenagers or children, street traders like Big Issue and other newspaper sellers, people who make promotion, and marketing surveys and some noisy activities, drinking of alcoholic beverages, sleeping on the pavement, or begging (Figure 7.25). The interviews carried out with the daily users of the site reveal that the users of the public space generally find the GMA a safe space (Taxi driver IV, 2000; Taxi driver V, 2000; the ex-manager of Lloyds Bank, 2000; Street trader II, 2000). Nevertheless, they have mixed feelings about the homeless people, hanging around in the public space. One of the users of the GMA expresses his concern about the homeless people as follows:

> The potential problem in the Monument area is obviously homeless people. This kind of people who intend to be quite aggressive, ... and I think, this can be quite intimidating. (The member of the UDP, 2000)

Figure 7.25. The GMA is still accommodating various groups, including the homeless people

In spite of the fact that the new GMA is highly accessible to all, it should be noted that the public authorities have taken more care on the maintenance of the public space than before; and the control on the public space has become tighter than before. Behind these changes in the maintenance and control policies of the public space, there are the city centre regeneration schemes and the city-marketing and re-imaging policies. The City Council tries to enhance the visual quality of the public space, since they consider it as an economic value generator in the regeneration of the private space of the GMA. On the other hand, the local authority seeks to create good-looking and well-maintained public space in order to promote Newcastle as the 'city of culture', the 'city of communication', the 'service city', the 'working city' and the 'regional capital'. On the basis of these policies, the public actors provide high standards maintenance policies and introduce more control on the GMA than they used to do in order to maintain a cleaner, safer and more ordered public space. It is possible to see that these policies discourage disorderly and violent behaviours in the public space, encourage the creation of a peaceful public environment, which attracts people more than an unorganised, filthy and threatening environment would. In this sense, these policies lead to create a public space, which brings together various groups of people and hence provides a vivid and colourful arena for social interaction. Therefore, they are in the public interest. However, it should be noted that as the control imposed on the public space increases, this leads to certain groups being pushed out of the GMA, restricts certain activities occurring in the public space. In the case of the GMA, the control and management

policies of the public authorities are tighter and more intimidating than they used to be before. Thus, they have reduced to a degree the physical accessibility of the GMA. In other words, with the present management policies, the GMA has become less accessible than the old GMA.

Briefly put, the management and maintenance of the GMA is mainly under public control. This is an important aspect, which secures the 'publicness' of the public space. Yet, the intervention of the private actors in the management of the GMA blurs the public-private distinction of the space; and decreased its 'publicness'. To a small extent, the introduction of the street café especially has commercialised the public space. Nevertheless, some activities (particularly the street café and the special events on the public space organised or run by semi-public actors) enhance the 'publicness' of the GMA by contributing to the creation of lively and colourful street scene. The analysis of the management and maintenance policies of the public actors shows that, within the context of city centre regeneration and revitalisation projects, and city-marketing and re-imaging policies, the public actors have tended to provide high standard maintenance service, and introduced more control than they used to do in order to create a prettier, cleaner, more ordered, disciplined, and safer public environment in the GMA. The increase in the control on the GMA leads to certain groups being pushed out of the public space, restricts certain activities occurring in the public space, and thus decreases the physical accessibility of the public space. The investigation on the management policies shows that the new GMA, as a public space, is less accessible to the public than it used to be. This is one of the features which reduced the 'publicness' of the GMA. Additionally, by increasing the control on the public space, the management policies tend to emphasise the symbolic and economic roles of the GMA, however, undermined its physical, social and political roles. This is another aspect which undermines the 'publicness' of the public space.

7.3.4 Use process

7.3.4.1 Actors

The new GMA was opened to the public in 2000. Despite few remaining works related to public artworks, the new GMA has been almost completed. Despite the current construction works, the GMA is one of the busiest public spaces of the city centre (Figure 7.25). A great deal of diverse groups uses the GMA (Table 7.12). Pedestrians, shoppers, bus and metro passengers are the predominant users of the GMA. Another group of users of the GMA is the working population which is made up of business groups occupying the private space of Grey Street and specialised in retailing, professional, financial and leisure services, their employees (ranging from highly-qualified and specialised office workers to those employed as shop assistants). The working

population of the public space of the GMA includes the bus companies operating in Blackett Street and Market Street, hackney carriages and street traders including the seller of local newspaper 'Evening Chronicle' as the permanent street trader operating next to the entrance of Monument Metro Station, and the distributor of free local newspapers as the temporary street traders. In addition, the GMA is a very lively and colourful public space with street performers playing music, people protesting ideas, making sale promotions, advertising and publicity campaigns especially around Grey's Monument (Figure 7.25).

Actors	Public-Private nature
USERS OF PRIVATE SPACES	
A. Working population in private spaces	
1. Retailers:	
▪ Evans Ladies' Wear	Private
▪ Warehouse Ladies Wear	Private
▪ Monsoon Ladies Wear	Private
▪ French Connection Men & Ladies Wear	Private
▪ Jigsaw Ladies Wear	Private
▪ Ciro Citterio Men's Wear	Private
▪ D*FNE Men's Wear	Private
▪ Tribal Men & Ladies Wear	Private
▪ Union Men & Women Wear	Private
▪ Traveller Men & Women Wear	Private
▪ Schuh Foot Wear	Private
▪ Pquers Shoes Foot Wear	Private
▪ Aspecto Foot Wear	Private
▪ Body Shop	Private
▪ Boots Chemist	Private
▪ 2 Waterstone Bookshops	Private
▪ Fenwicks	Private
▪ Newcastle United gift & souvenir shop	Private
▪ Evolution gift shop	Private
▪ Northern Goldsmiths Jewellery	Private
▪ Reid & Sons Jewellery	Private
▪ Berrys Jewellers	Private
▪ Davidsons Antic and Jewellery	Private
▪ Northern Electric (electrical appliance retailer)	Private
▪ Tecno (electronic appliance retailer)	Private
▪ Phone 4u Mobile phone retailer	Private
▪ Mobile Phone Centre	Private
▪ Click film developer	Private
▪ Head Photo Film Developer	Private
▪ Going Places Travel Agency	Private
▪ Lunn Poly Travel Agency	Private
▪ One Stop News	Private
▪ Finlays News	Private
▪ Delcor Furniture	Private
▪ Sherlocks Hairdresser	Private
▪ Essensual Hairdresser	Private
▪ Stagecoach ticket kiosk	Private
2. Financial services	
▪ HSBC Bank	Private
▪ Lloyds TSB Bank	Private
▪ The Co-operative Bank	Private
▪ Nat West Bank	Private

▪ Barclays	Private
3. Professional services	
▪ Bairstow Eyes Mortgage Advice Centre	Private
4. Leisure services	
▪ Fm's Public House	Private
▪ Legends Night Club	Private
▪ Costa Coffee	Private
▪ Coffee Republic	Private
▪ Starbucks Coffee	Private
▪ Greggs Bakery Shop	Private
5. Cultural activities	
▪ The Theatre Royal	More public than private
6. Office users on the second floor of the private space around the GMA	
B. The owners of the private space	Private
C. The investors and developers of private space	Private
USERS OF PUBLIC SPACE	
▪ Hackney carriages	Private
▪ Bus companies	Private
▪ Street traders	Private
▪ Market surveyors, sale promoters	Private
▪ Street performers	Private
▪ Pedestrians, shoppers, bus and metro passengers	A large part of the public

Table 7.12. The public-private nature of the present users of the GMA (Land-use map made in June 2002)

7.3.4.2 Access

As argued earlier, the GMA is a highly accessible public space. It is an open space; hence it is physically open to all. The presence of Monument Metro Station, and the bus stations, locating on Blackett Street, Market Street, Grainger Street and Pilgrim Street, makes the GMA highly accessible for pedestrians and public transport passengers, as they used to do before. Moreover, despite the removal of some on-street car parks, the GMA is still highly accessible for private-car users. The on-street car parks along Grey Street, from Shakespeare Street to the end of Dean Street, those on Hood Street and Shakespeare Street, and the multi-story car park on Dean Street provide private-car users to have an easy access to the GMA. Further, various design components, such as the creation of pedestrian-priority site on the south of the site, the surface treatments such as 'rumble stripe', tactile pavement, cord-ride paving, traffic lights with audible signals and

ramps, have significantly improved the physical accessibility of the public, particularly disabled and elderly people, as well as wheelchair and pushchair users (Figure 7.26).

Figure 7.26. The improved physical accessibility of the GMA: Blackett Street with tactile pavement, cord-rice paving, ramps for the access of disabled people, and wheel and pushchair users

Ride

Although the GMA is one of the most accessible public spaces of the city centre, the physical accessibility of the public space has been reduced to a degree, especially compared to the old GMA. This has partly caused by the regeneration schemes of the private space on Grey Street, and partly by the recent redevelopment scheme of the GMA, which have changed the user profile of private property in the GMA. As far as the changes in the private space of the GMA and Grey Street are considered, it is possible to note that luxurious and prestigious office, retail and residential uses have been increasingly developed behind the historical facades of the buildings in Grey Street since the mid-1990s. New big companies, such as HSBC, the specialist retailers, like Traveller[5] and Evolution[6], well-known fashion shops, such as French Connection, Jigsaw and Schuh, stylish and expensive cafés, restaurants, bars and public houses, like BARLUGA[7], and the

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[5] Traveller is a specialist sport wear retailer.

[6] Evolution is a gift and souvenir shop, which sells the authentic imported goods.

[7] BARLUGA is a new bar and restaurant, open in 2001 and known as one of the most distinctive bars and restaurants in Northern England (Author unknown, 2001a).

expensive telecommunication and electronic appliances retailers, such as Mobile Phone Centre, Phone 4U, and Tecno, moved to the GMA (Author unknown, 2001a; Author unknown, 2001b: 29; *The Grainger Town Project*, no date) (Figure 7.27). As a result, the GMA, which had an appearance of an economically rising street in the mid-1990, has started to look prestigious and exclusive with the recent changes in the private space. As well as the prestigious and expensive office and retail developments, there is a significant increase in the expensive residential developments in Grey Street. The upper floors of Central Exchange Buildings, which were recently converted to residential apartments, are the remarkable examples with their prices, ranging from £215,000 to £500,000 (Author unknown, 2001c: 33). The trend of Grey Street to turn into an exclusive, expensive and prestigious setting for office, retail and residential uses has also been accompanied by similar developments in the neighbours of Grey Street. Market Street is a significant example, which has been associated with Bond Street of London as the street of high-profile fashion outlets, after the opening of the designer shops, such as Karen Miller, Oasis, Jigsaw and Envy (Author unknown, 1999b: 23) (Figure 7.27).

Figure 7.27. The expensive and exclusive looking retailers on Blackett Street, Grey Street and Market Street

The recent development of these expensive, exclusive and prestigious office, retail and residential uses on Grey Street has significantly increased the property values in and around Grey Street. Duncan Young, an estate agency in Newcastle, explains this striking increase in the property values in Grey Street within a few years as follows:

> There are few places which have the buildings to rival Newcastle. … I am sure that there have been many residents and people in the region who have wandered along Grey Street and Grainger Street and noticed the first and second floor offices with their large dirty windows. Some of the owners in the past have been offered £5 a

> square feet to store boxes and probably would have accepted £2 or £3. … Now they are attracting £150 a square feet to be converted into flats and whether you are the owner of an Italian bistro on the ground floor or an investment client everyone is realising the value of Newcastle city centre. Some people might like high ceilings and minimalist design, but can anyone really compete with looking out of your windows to something like the Theatre Royal or Grey's Monument? (Hedley, 2000)

The high property values mainly have attracted more affluent businesses, retailers, investors, their customers, and residential users than other segments of the public. The change in the property values has brought about a shift in the users of private space from local, small business to big, national and international companies, as well as from small budget shoppers to affluent shoppers. In other words, the increase in the private property values has created to some extent gentrification. For this reason, the exclusive and prestigious office, residential and retail developments in Grey Street have reduced to a certain degree the public accessibility of the GMA, compared to the old GMA.

Figure 7.28. The Caithness stone as an expensive construction material which shows the GMA as an exclusive public space

This trend has been strengthened by the recent public space development of Grey Street. By using stylish, elegant and highly expensive construction materials, like Caithness stone, polished granite, toughened glass, stainless steel, as well as the special lighting effect for street seats, and the lighting of buildings which seeks to attract attention to chic and embellished architecture, specially-designed street signs, the new design includes the principle of 'exclusivity in design', which intends to attract, impress and at the same time promote the 'feeling of affluence' (Figures 7.28, 7.29, 7.30 and 7.31). This design feature, which tends to attract more affluent groups than other segments of the population, reduced the physical accessibility of the GMA. In other words, the new GMA welcomes more affluent groups than the old one.

Figure 7.29. The design of street furniture, which create the 'feeling of affluence'

Besides, the physical accessibility of the GMA was reduced by the design of the new GMA, which seeks to introduce some control into the public space, by turning it into a more 'disciplined' and 'ordered' space than it used to be. First of all, the new design has removed on-street car parks and taxi rank on Grey Street, and so eliminated the elements such as smoke, noise, parking and traffic, that used to trouble the old GMA. Second, the new design of the GMA introduced few benches to the public space in order to limit and control people hanging around. In addition, by using a very tough and cold material like granite, the new design creates uncomfortable seats, which do not allow people to sit for long time, or sleep on. Again, the use of such materials also aims at eliminating the undesirable groups, such as homeless people, beggars and noisy teenagers, and undesirable activities such as sleeping on benches, drinking of alcoholic beverages and hanging around[8]. Therefore, the new design tends to turn the GMA into a cleaner, safer, more disciplined and stratified public space than it was before. In addition, it tends to reduce the elements of 'chance' and 'spontaneity' that the old GMA used to have. In doing so, the new GMA has become a more attractive setting particularly for the groups which do not feel safe in

[8] This argument is inspired by 'Fortress Los Angeles: The militarization of urban space' written by Davies who (1992: 161) analyses the design of street furniture in order to control and avoid some people and groups to be and activities to occur in the new and exclusive public spaces of Los Angeles.

conventional public spaces; it has turned into a comfortable environment which encourages shopping and other consumption activities; and it has provided a more 'ordered' and 'disciplined' place for retailers and other businesses to operate smoothly. In this sense, the new GMA promotes and enhances to some extent gentrification, social stratification and social exclusion.

In addition, the new design of the GMA, particularly the new pedestrian-priority site restricted the accessibility of the blind people. As mentioned earlier, this part of the public space provides vehicles with a restricted access. The distinction for the pedestrian and vehicular use of the public space was made through the colour of pavement and pavement size, rather than the tactile pavement. This design feature mainly creates unsafe public space for blind people.

The interviews, carried out with regard to the use of the GMA, reveal that some users do not feel safe in the new layout of the public space. For example, some find Blackett Street a threatening place for pedestrians. The member of the RF notes the aesthetic improvement of the northern end of the GMA; yet he underlines the safety problem of Blackett Street, as follows:

> I think, it looks good to me. I'm not expert on urban design, but walking through that area of town, now to me, it looks good. But it isn't a safe environment, cause I was thinking there's gonna be an accident there. You see people shopping, drifting around from one shop to the next. And on the bus road, you know, it's a bit threatening. I can see a terrible accident coming. But aesthetically, it looks great around there. I think, it looked good before, but the new stone, it's really brought that area to life. (The member of the RF, 2000)

The street trader, operating on the site agrees on this issue, as can be noted below:

> It's safe when you're going. But, the layout of the road makes you see, it's almost pedestrianised. I think, it gives a false sense of security. You might not think, there is gonna be a bus coming. But, sometimes they do. I think, it could be safer. (Street trader II, 2000)

The opinion of another interviewee, the member of the UDP, is also on the same line. He (2000) thinks that the only place, which is disappointing in terms of the traffic movement, is Blackett Street, and claims that he would like to see it as a fully-pedestrianised street. Finally, the officers of HAT and ES departments of the NCC admit that despite the rumble stripes, buses are still driving through Blackett Street very fast.

Another concern of the interviewees is the new pedestrian-priority site between Hood Street and Shakespeare Street. Some argue that the new design has blurred the distinction between the pedestrian and vehicular sites of the public space; jeopardises the safety of pedestrians and thus

reduces the public accessibility. For example, a street trader explains the confusion created by the new design of the site as follows:

> ..., it is hard to say where the road is and where the pavement is. There could be a problem! People are encouraged to walk in the street, then cars go there... So, that way isn't safe. (Street trader III, 2002)

A taxi driver, who operates on Hood Street, also claims that the new public space is not safe for pedestrians, because cars drive everywhere. He also adds that taxis park on the pedestrian-priority part, although they are not supposed to park on the pedestrian-priority part. A pedestrian interviewed in the site finds the new design as an improvement, but wants to see it as a pedestrian site.

> Better than before. I think, now it is more pedestrian than it was. But it is not only pedestrian. So I'm seeing this as an improvement, although this is not what ideally I wanted to see. It's in the right direction, not in the wrong direction, which is better than many developments in the city centre. (Pedestrian IX, 2000)

Another pedestrian agrees that the front of the Theatre Royal should have been pedestrianised.

> For the place in front of the Theatre Royal, basically what they tried to do there is to create a public space outside of the Theatre Royal. But then they did not restrict the cars to pass there. So, it functions still as a street. This is not a gathering place really. (Pedestrian X, 2002)

Finally, as mentioned earlier, taxi drivers and retailers, operating in the site, complain about the new design of the GMA, arguing that their accessibility has been reduced. Yet, it should be noted that both users groups have been provided with alternative locations, which ease their accessibility to the GMA.

Briefly put, the GMA is still a highly accessible public space. The recent development scheme of the GMA has improved the public accessibility of the public space, particularly for disabled and elderly people and wheelchair and pushchair users, in some aspects, while reducing the public accessibility in other aspects. Despite the sensitivity to the accessibility of disabled people, the new GMA is not providing the blind with a safe environment. Moreover, the public accessibility has also been reduced to a degree by the new design principles, which tend to attract more affluent groups than the old GMA, and thus promote and enhance to some extent gentrification, social stratification and social exclusion. Further, the interviews conducting on the site reveal that there are still problems of public accessibility and safety of pedestrians around Blackett Street, and Grey Street from Hood Street and Shakespeare Street. In this sense, the 'publicness' of the

GMA has been reduced to some degree by the recent development scheme when particularly compared to the old GMA.

7.3.4.3 Interest

7.3.4.3.1 Private actors

The GMA redevelopment scheme has significantly favoured the private interest. The retailers and other business groups, landowners, developers and investors of the site are the main beneficiaries from the new public space. First of all, as mentioned above, the new design of the GMA has created a 'disciplined' and 'ordered' public space which provides the smooth operation of the retailers and other businesses in financial, professional, leisure and cultural services, as well as hackney carriages, bus companies, street traders. Second, the new GMA, which now has a more exclusive and distinctive appearance, improved the image of the area that has benefited the up-market retailers and business groups locating in the site, and the landowners, developers and investors of the private space of the GMA (especially those who/which targeted affluent groups). In other words, the improved image of the area has also improved the image and prestige of the retailers and business in financial, professional, leisure and culture sectors, and subsequently has increased the prices of the goods and services that they provide. Landowners, developers and investors of the private space around the GMA have benefited from the remarkable increase in the private property values around the GMA due to the improved image of the area through the public space improvement scheme. Furthermore, in a wider context, the improved image of the area, which has boosted the development activities in the private space of Grey Street and its surrounding has benefited and will benefit all interest groups which are/will be involved in the regeneration of Grey Street and its environs. These groups include the business interests in the finance industry (building societies, banks, personal loan investments, etc.), the construction industry (building contractors, agents which hire plants, and supply construction materials, etc.) and estate agencies.

As for street traders, hackney carriages and bus companies, which were the users of the old GMA, they have benefited, since they were able to keep their position in the site. Nonetheless, hackney carriages are not happy with the new location of the taxi rank and the insufficient capacity of the new taxi rank, which does not accommodate all the hackney carriages operating in the previous rank. One of the taxi drivers (2000) states that the new taxi rank is hidden behind the shops, and claims that they have lost business because of the relocation of their taxi rank.

To sum up, the GMA public space improvement scheme has significantly benefited private actors, particularly the retailers and other business groups operating in the site, private property owners, developers and investors, as well as the business interests in the financial and construction industries and estate agencies which are/will be involved in the regeneration of the private space of Grey Street and its surroundings. Finally, the private actors, which operated in the public space, have also benefited, since they kept their position in such an exclusive and prestigious looking site.

7.3.4.3.2 Public and semi-public actors

The GMA development scheme manifests the success, commitment and effectiveness of public and semi-public actors (i.e., the local authority and the GT Partnership) in the urban regeneration and city-marketing projects. Both actors were significantly successful in producing an 'ordered', 'disciplined' and 'beautiful' public space, which would be influential in increasing the land values, attracting inward investment to the private space of the GMA and Grey Street, and so bringing economic vitality back to the site, and regenerating and revitalising this part of the city centre. This idea is also underlined by an independent research as follows:

> The regeneration of the streetscape is widely recognised as having been a great success. The fact that the public realm works around the Monument and the cleaning of the Monument itself made a strong impact at the start of the Project did much to convince developers and investors that Grainger Town is a viable alternative to the Quayside and other edge-of-town locations. … Expensive and high quality public realm works have proved justifiable and appear to have raised business confidence. (Robinson, et. al, 2001: 52, 53)

On the other hand, public and semi-public actors were also remarkably successful in creating the 'good-looking' and 'well-maintained' public space, which promotes its aesthetic, historical and cultural values in its affluent and exclusive private space setting. This symbolises the success of public and semi-public actors with regard to city-marketing and re-imaging policies; since the improvement scheme of the public space developed a positive image for the GMA and its environs, enhanced and promoted the image of the city as the 'capital of culture', the 'regional capital', the 'city of transportation and communication', the 'service city' and the 'working city'. By leading such a big scheme in partnership with various public and private actors, the NCC and the GT Partnership achieved a considerable success in terms of city-marketing and re-imaging policies.

As well as the local authority and the GT Partnership, the Theatre Royal, as a semi-public actor, has significantly benefited from the new design of the public space. On the one hand, the theatre

building, now, is attracting more attention than before, because of the renovation and new lighting. This has increased the potential of the Theatre Royal to attract more customers. With a new performance stage in front of the theatre building, the Theatre Royal has been provided with an opportunity to promote their plays and themselves. In addition, the new public space, which is run by the theatre as a street café, provides them with an extra revenue. In this sense, the Theatre Royal has significantly benefited from the GMA improvement scheme.

To sum up, the GMA scheme shows the success of the public and semi-public actors in urban regeneration and city-marketing and re-imaging projects. Their achievement of the GMA scheme was a vehicle of legitimacy for them (particularly for the NCC) and a way to improve their political credit. The Theatre Royal is another beneficiary of the public space improvement scheme through its new appearance and image to promote itself, and the street café on the new public space which provides them with a new source of revenue.

7.3.4.3.3 The public

The redevelopment of the GMA has also benefited the public, since the recent development scheme has brought a significant improvement in the GMA and its surroundings. First of all, the northern end of the GMA, particularly around Blackett Street, which was chaotic and unorganised, and contained a lot of conflicts between pedestrians and vehicles, has turned into a remarkably organised, safer and healthier environment than before. The removal of the taxi rank on Grey Street and the on-street car park eliminated elements such as traffic and smoke from the part between Hood Street and Shakespeare Street and thus made it look a cleaner and healthier environment for pedestrians. Now, there is not much traffic congestion on Blackett Street and Market Street due to the macro-scale traffic management policies. In addition, despite the magnificent looking private spaces, the public space of the GMA which was simple and ordinary, has been significantly beautified by the development scheme (Figure 7.26). That is, the visual quality of the public space has been remarkably improved through the expensive and elegant pavement materials, street signs and special lighting and public artworks. The new public space is now looking much more distinctive, attractive and prettier than before. It will look spectacular when the whole public space scheme, including the public art scheme, is completed. The new GMA is now a place which people of Newcastle are proud of.

As far as the private space of the GMA is concerned, the public space improvement scheme has also contributed to the regeneration and revitalisation of this site of the city centre. This spectacular public space, which has improved the image of the GMA, has started to attract a lot of investment to the private space, as well as visitors and tourists. Consequently, it helps bring the

under-used buildings back into use, create new jobs and resources for the economy of the city and thus develop the city. Thus, the redevelopment of the GMA has improved the public interest.

Seventeen interviews were carried out in order to understand whether the present users of the GMA are satisfied with the new design of the public space. The interviewees, ranging from pedestrians, street traders, taxi drivers, retailers and office users to the members of the RF and the UDP, the officers of the local authority and the GTP Executive Team, claim that the new design of the GMA is satisfactory when compared to the old one.

Nevertheless, the new GMA contains some features, which undermine the 'publicness' of the GMA. By promoting the economic and symbolic roles of the public space, the recent improvement scheme has turned the GMA into a means to help the regeneration of this part of the city centre, as well as an instrument which would help Newcastle to build a new and positive image to market itself and to find a place in competitive global markets. Additionally, with the recent improvement scheme, the GMA became an instrument of generating profit for certain groups. Further, the recent scheme has turned the HBS into an environment which serves as a means of increasing consumption more than it used to do. The recent development scheme produced, therefore, a public space, where the economic and symbolic roles of the GMA are over-emphasised, while the social, political and some of the physical roles are undermined. In this sense, the new public space of the GMA became a public space, which favours the public interest less than it used to do.

It is possible to note the over-emphasis of the economic and symbolic roles of the public space when the new design of the GMA is carefully examined. First of all, the new design of the GMA has tried to enhance and promote the aesthetic qualities of public spaces. It has created a very 'well-designed' and 'attractive' public space through the new and expensive pavement material, chic and elegant street furniture and signs, the spectacular lighting of the Theatre Royal and Grey's Monument, the public artwork scheme for the entrance of the metro station (Figures 7.28, 7.29, 7.30 and 7.31). When the simulation scheme of the Lort Burn is completed, it will be a much more spectacular, exclusive and distinctive public space. The strong emphasis on the aesthetic qualities of the public space is one of the major indications of the emphasis on the symbolic and economic roles of the public spaces, as explained in section 2.3.3.3.

Figure 7.30. The Theatre Royal, the Grey's Monument and other historical buildings in Grey Street at night (Author unknown, 2002g: 4; Author unknown, 2002h: 4)

Figure 7.31. The lighting of the historical buildings on Grey Street seeking to emphasise the embellished architecture

Figure 7.32. Specially-designed street signs in order to promote the image of Grainger Town

Second, the symbolic function of the public space of the GMA was powerfully emphasised by the cleverly designed and maintained visual décor and ambience of the new public space that seeks to create a strong 'visual identity'. There are a number of components, which lead to create this strong visual identity. One of these design components is the strong emphasis on the aesthetic legacy of Grey Street. Particularly with the lighting scheme, the attention seeks to be attracted to the curving street, and the chic, highly ornamental and elegant architecture of the buildings in Grey Street (Figures 7.30 and 7.31). The location of street furniture also seeks to stress the curve of the street, while the special lighting schemes of the Theatre Royal and Grey's Monument aim at calling attention to the majestic architecture of these historical artefacts. Another design component, which tends to create a strong visual identity for the public space of Grey Street, is the attempt to create a 'chic' architecture. Stylish, elegant and highly expensive construction materials such as Caithness stone for the pavement, polished granite for seating base of benches, toughened glass for the backrest of benches, stainless steel for litterbins, the unique lighting effect of each street seat, specially-designed and distinctive-looking street signs seek to beautify and embellish the public space and its surrounding, and thus create a 'chic' architecture for the public space (Figures 7.28, 7.29, 7.30, 7.31 and 7.32).

Further, the strong visual identity of the new GMA is also created through the principle of 'variety and diversity'. There are a number of eclectic images, which are promoted in the new design of the public space. First, the new design significantly promotes the historical and cultural images of the GMA and Grey Street. The special lighting of the historical buildings, including the Theatre Royal, Emerson Chambers, the Central Arcade, and Grey's Monument, attract attention to the nineteenth-century classical grandiose architecture. The Victorian-style street lights also strengthen the nineteenth-century image of the GMA (Figure 7.23). Another historical and cultural image, which is promoted by the design through the hollowed images which would appeared on the surface of the public space around Grey's Monument, is Earl Grey. As a political figure, who achieved a significant improvement for the English democracy, Earl Grey represents the nineteenth-century political history of Newcastle and England (Figure 7.33). Additionally, the simulation of the Lort Burn, which is planning to be installed soon, seeks to bring the Medieval image of the site, when it was a valley with a stream, flowing along the valley and reaching the Quayside, back to Grey Street (The Conservation Practice, et. al., 1992).

Figure 7.33. Hollowed image of Earl Grey, which has been installed on the surface of the platform of Grey's Monument (Classic Masonry, 2002)

As well as the historical and cultural images, the design of the GMA also brought an imported image. Café culture which is a continental European culture and has been strongly promoted in many English cities in the 1990s, manifests itself in Grey Street as the development of the street-café spot in front of the Theatre Royal (Figure 7.20). This is also accompanied by three new cafés around the GMA; Costa Café on Grey Street, Coffee Republic and Starbucks Coffee on Grainger Street.

In addition to the images promoted by the new design of the public space, the land-use functions of private space also emphasise various images. The restaurants serving the foods of different countries, traditional style public houses, new and stylish bars and cafés, and the Legends nightclub create the image of Grey Street and the GMA as a leisure and entertainment centre of Newcastle. The special light effect of the Theatre Royal which promotes its function with the curtain simulation, creates the image of the leisure arena for an intellectual and exclusive society, while the nightclub Legend, and other public houses and bars create the image of the leisure activities of a young and modern society. On the other hand, the headquarters of the major banks, real estate agencies, specialised retailing and other companies in the service sector give the impression that Grey Street is the financial and business hub of the city centre. These activities do

not only promote Newcastle as the regional capital, but also the 'service city' and the 'working city'. Finally, accommodating specialist retailers, and those which sell expensive and luxurious items, and being neighbour of the designer shops on Market Street, the GMA and Grey Street reflect the image of a prestigious and exclusive shopping street.

Figure 7.34. The public artwork installed at the entrance of Monument Metro Station

Another indication, which puts an emphasis on the economic roles of the public space, is the design principle of 'exclusivity in design'. As mentioned in section 3.4.2, it tends to attract affluent groups, and thus promotes the economic generator role of the public space. This is also strengthened by the use of art in the design of public space. Particularly the public artworks and lighting schemes, such as the special lighting schemes of Grey's Monument and the Theatre Royal, the simulation of the Lort Burn, the street furniture, each of which is designed as a piece of art, seek to turn this simple and ordinary public space into a pleasurable paradise. As Hajer (1993: 63) claims, the use of artworks promotes the affinity of the public space.

Briefly put, by enhancing the visual quality of the public space by using high quality, chic, stylish and elegant construction materials, high-quality artworks and design elements, and creating a strong identity for the public space by promoting the aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street, the new design of the public space powerfully emphasises the economic and symbolic roles of the public space.

The emphasis on the economic and symbolic values of the public space is a part of the city centre regeneration policies, which see the public spaces as a means for economic value generation. By beautifying the public space of the GMA, promoting the aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street, introducing various artworks, and creating the feeling of 'exclusivity' and 'affluence', the city centre regeneration policies used the public space as a tool to develop a positive image of the site, and thus to increase the land values, attract affluent groups and inward investment to the area. In other words, the public space is used as an economic catalyst in the regeneration of Grey Street and its surroundings. Therefore, the symbolic value of Grey Street has been promoted in order to use the economic value generator role of the public space for the regeneration of Grey Street and its environs.

The emphasis on the economic and symbolic roles of the public space is also a part of the city-marketing and re-imaging policies. It should be noted that the GMA was not seen only a public space which would simply function as an intersection of the thoroughfares, a passageway, a meeting and gathering place, a place of entertainment, celebrations and protest for local people. City-marketing and re-imaging strategies considered it as an instrument which would help Newcastle to build the image of the 'city of culture', the 'regional capital', the 'service city', the 'working city' and the 'party city', and thus help the city to find a place in competitive urban markets. For this reason, the symbolic and economic values of the GMA were promoted by underlining the aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy, as well as its active and rich economic, social and cultural life of the GMA in the new design of the public space in order to impress national and international developers, investors, the employees of these investors (mainly service sector), affluent groups and tourists, and thus attract inward investment to Newcastle. Again, it is possible to note that, within the context of city-marketing and re-imaging policies, the symbolic values of the GMA have been used to promote and use its economic value generator role.

Another reason for the considerable emphasis on the economic roles of the GMA is the effort to use the public space as a means of increasing consumption. The new design of the GMA operates according to the principle of 'capture' in order to facilitate and thus increase consumption of goods and services. The recent design of the GMA has turned the public space into a beautiful, exclusive and attractive environment with the use of chic and expensive construction materials, various lighting and public artworks and the promotion of historical and cultural legacy of the street. This attractive environment, which is surrounded by a number of shops, restaurants, cafés, public houses, bars, and other leisure activities, and contains street café activity, attracts and keeps the visitors in the site and encourages them to eat, drink, shop, and thus functions as the landscape of consumption more than the old GMA used to do. Further, the new design of the GMA brought a great deal of the 'variety and diversity' of images, which are not in harmony. These images, which are eclectic (i.e., they do not follow one set of ideas, but choose from or use a wide range), create a 'scenographic variety', and enhances the landscape of consumption. Because the public space with these images keeps visitors of the public space busy, creates an environment of consumption and therefore encourages consumption (Cybriwsky, 1999: 229). Thus, the new design of the GMA has turned the public space of Grey Street into a setting to increase consumption, more than it used to do.

Additionally, the over-emphasis on the economic and symbolic roles of the GMA is resulted by the attempt of the recent development scheme to use the public space as a means to generate economic value for the private spaces surrounding the public space, and thus to produce profit.

That is, the recent scheme has commercialised the public space to an extent, by using it an instrument for producing profit for some groups, such as landowners, property owners, investors and developers of the private space around the GMA and Grey Street, and the business interests operating around the site.

As mentioned above, while the new design of the GMA over-emphasises the economic and symbolic roles of the public space, the social, political and some of the physical roles of the public space are undermined. What are these components which undermine the social, socio-psychological, political and physical roles of the public space?

First, the use of the historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street in the design of the public space and their promotion as tourist attractions have resulted in the de-contextualisation of these assets and stripping them off their political and social roles. For example, the Lort Burn, which functioned as a little port to load and unload trading goods, and then became a filthy and unpleasant place in the Middle Ages, has been sought to be revitalised by the new design of the public space as a decorative water feature, which will please the eyes of developers, investors, affluent groups, tourists and ordinary citizens. The same tendency can also be observed through the Creative Lighting Scheme of Grey's Monument. Earl Grey, the promotion of democracy, has been stripped off his historical and political context, and turned into a ghostly image, rotating and floating on the surface of the pavement, by changing its colour. Again, it is possible to note that this artwork and product of technology seeks to impress the local people, as well as developers, investors, affluent groups and tourists.

Second, as mentioned earlier, the new public space of Grey Street contains eclectic images, which cause confusion over the symbolic meanings which Grey Street represents for people from different class, gender and ethnicity backgrounds. The new images of the GMA are rather fragmented and do not show any harmony with each other. The manipulation of the images of the public space raises the question of how far the new GMA will be appropriated by the public, and how far it will perform as a social binder. It should be noted that the public spaces, with their images and symbols, are social binders. With the fragmented and eclectic images, the public spaces cannot perform this role.

The improvement scheme of the GMA has promoted and enhanced to some degree gentrification, social stratification and social exclusion. As explained in section 7.3.4.2, the refurbishment schemes of the private space and the exclusive and distinctive public space, which are about to finish, will increase the property values in and around Grey Street, and thus cause the

displacement of the small and medium-size retailers and businesses, which cannot afford the property values. As a result, big and affluent retailers and businesses will replace them. The moderate and low-budget shoppers and consumers, who are the customers of these small and medium-size retailers and business groups will also be replaced by the affluent shoppers and consumers. Hence, the improvement scheme of the GMA will promote and enhance gentrification, social stratification and social exclusion. This is another aspect, which undermines the 'publicness' of the GMA improvement scheme.

Besides, the new GMA has still some physical problems which are not resolved through the new design. In addition, it has a few design features, which do not please the users of the public space, and do not favour the public interest. First of all, the conflict of pedestrian-vehicle is still a problem in the GMA. Blackett Street is still a dangerous place for pedestrians, despite the rumble stripes, which were introduced by the recent design. The officers of HAT and ES departments of the local authority claim that buses are still driving very fast on Blackett Street. As well as Blackett Street, the new pedestrian-priority part on Grey Street also creates significant conflict between pedestrians and vehicular traffic. The interviews which were carried out with the users of the site showed that the users do not feel comfortable in this part of the public space. This type of street design is mainly used in the Northern European countries in order to turn public spaces to mixed-use spaces where both vehicle and pedestrian traffic can be accommodated. Since the daily and primary users of the GMA do not know this idea, they generally feel confused where to walk when they see a car. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the site does not provide the blind people with a safe environment, since the new design does not contain the pavement materials which will make the distinction between the pedestrian and vehicular routes.

Figure 7.35. The conflict of pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the GMA

Third, the new design, which relocated the taxi rank on Grey Street to Hood Street and removed on-street car park on Grey Street, has overloaded the other streets which intersect Grey Street (HAT Officer; Taxi driver IV, 2000; Taxi driver V, 2000). The officer of HAT Department (2000) reported that the users of Shakespeare Street complain about the insufficient parking facilities and traffic congestion.

Another important concern about the new design of the GMA is its performance as a social space. The part around Grey's Monument is a very busy place, as it used to be before. However, the rest of public space is used as a passageway rather than a social environment. Despite the effort to create another pedestrian focus in front of the Theatre Royal and to encourage this place to be used as a street café, the new pedestrian spot is mostly empty. The street café is not operating very often because of the wet and cold climate of Newcastle which does not allow much open space activities in almost all seasons. In this sense, the design target has failed to create a social space around the Theatre Royal.

Finally, a lot of properties on Grey Street, which are terraced, do not have bin stores (The GTP Executive Team). Most of them keep their wheelie bins on the street, which do not create a pleasant effect for Grey Street (Figure 7.36). They undermine the prestigious and distinctive image of Grey Street.

Figure 7.36. The overloaded Hood Street and Shakespeare Street (left) and wheelie bins on Grey Street (right)

To sum up, the recent public space scheme produced a cleaner, more organised, safer and healthier public space. Additionally, it significantly beautified the public space, and turned it into

a more distinctive, attractive and prettier place. As a result, the new GMA has become a source of pride for the people of Newcastle. In these aspects, the new public space of the GMA serves the public interest. Yet, with the recent development scheme, the economic and symbolic roles of the GMA were over-emphasised, while its social, political and some of the physical roles were undermined. This end was brought about by the image-led regeneration policies which sought to attract inward investment to this part of the city centre, as well as to build a new and positive image of the city in order to use it to find new niches in urban markets. The recent scheme also turned the GMA into a means for generating profit for certain groups. Besides, with the recent scheme, the GMA became an environment which serves as a means of increasing consumption more than it used to do. Consequently, the new public space, which is characterised by its a strong emphasis on its economic and symbolic roles, now favours the public interest less than it used to do.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the 'publicness' of the development and use processes of the GMA which has been developed since 1994 within the context of the city centre regeneration and revitalisation policies and the city-marketing and re-imaging strategies. Lying at the heart of the city centre, being the main thoroughfare between the north and south, north and southwest and east and west of the city centre, the GMA was historically one of the major foci of the city centre. It functioned not only as the major intersection, but also a meeting and gathering place, a place of entertainment, celebrations and protest for the citizens of Newcastle. With its historical and architectural artefacts, the GMA used to provide visual variety and to enhance the aesthetic quality of the city centre. As well as its physical, social and political roles, as a public space which comprised some major landmarks of the city and being the symbol of democracy of the city, the GMA was one of the elements which formed the identity of Newcastle. Before the recent redevelopment scheme took place, the GMA looked an economically rising and rejuvenating part of the city centre. Despite its magnificent-looking private space, the public space of the GMA was simple and ordinary, but multi-functional. Nevertheless, it used to suffer from traffic congestion, a chaotic, unorganised and physically deteriorated public space, as well as the lack of investors, developers and occupiers for the vacant private premises especially on the second floor of the historical buildings. With the recent development scheme, the GMA turned into a remarkably beautiful and well-maintained, but 'less' public space, especially compared to the old one.

This end was partly prepared for by the early regeneration projects. But, it was mainly pioneered by *Regeneration Strategy*, which was prepared by a private planning consultancy and constituted

the planning and design policies of the GT Project that aimed at regenerating and revitalising the nineteenth-century historical heart of the city centre in order to enhance Newcastle's competitiveness as a city at national and international levels. The consultancy put a particular emphasis on the improvement of public spaces by bringing the idea of using them as the means of regenerating Grainger Town and constructing a new image for Newcastle in order to increase its competitiveness in urban markets.

On the basis of these regeneration policies, the GMA was redeveloped within the framework of the GT Project through public-private partnership. The public-private partnership which the GT Project is based on, was dominated by public and semi-public actors. Within the organisation of the Partnership, the planning and design process of the GMA was open to a rich range of public and private actors, constituting representatives from the public authorities at the local, regional and central government levels, local, national and international business interests, as well as the business interests of an ethnic minority, private practices in professional services, religious services, charities and the residential population of Grainger Town. In addition, a big number of private professional and technical expert groups took part in the design project as the consultants of the scheme. Although they were commissioned by public and semi-public actors, the involvement and dominance of private technical and professional advisers in the design scheme of the GMA blurred the public-private distinction, and thus decreased the extent of the 'publicness' of the public space. The 'publicness' of the provision of the public space was also reduced by the GT Partnership, a semi-public actor, which took part in the scheme as one of the major driving forces of the planning and design process. Nevertheless, the involvement of the NCC increased the 'publicness' of the GMA scheme.

The GMA scheme is characterised by a rich range of public and private actors which were involved in the process. Yet, a small number of these actors played critical roles. The main design principles of the GMA development scheme were shaped by a group of public and semi-public actors and their private professional consultants. The private actors proposed the key design principles to develop a 'good-looking' and 'high-quality' public space, rather than a 'well-functioning' public space, to promote particularly the aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street, and thus to emphasise its economic and symbolic values of the public space. These proposals were widely accepted by public and semi-public actors. Both actors were influential in creating a distinctive, high-quality and good-looking public space in the GMA by promoting the aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street and Grainger Town, and by encouraging the use of chic, stylish and elegant materials, as well as the use of 'art' in the design of the public space. They recognised and promoted the public space of Grey Street as a means to re-build a new

image for Newcastle and to market it as a European Capital of Culture and European Regional Capital, and to regenerate this part of the city centre. This manifested their entrepreneurial role. By using the public space as an economic value generator, the local authority led to create a very attractive, distinctive and exclusive public environment which increased the land values around the new public space, attracted new investments to the private realm and thus increased speculative development schemes in order to bring back the economic vitality around this part of the city. As well as their entrepreneurial role in the design of the public space, the public and semi-public actors played collaborative and regulatory roles. The effort to gather and co-operate with a large number of public and private actors under the organisation of the GT Partnership exemplifies the collaborative role and attitude of the local authority. Public and semi-public actors played a regulatory role, by leading the public consultation to take place, monitoring the development process and making sure that the development was carried out according to the regulation, plan and design briefs. As for the advisory groups, they did not have much effect in the design of the public space.

One of the major findings is about the influence of public and semi-public actors in the quality of the public space. The examination of the development and management processes of the GMA reveals that the GT Partnership and the local authority used their power to produce a 'good-looking' and 'high-quality' public space than a 'well-functioning' public space. This attitude which was originated from their entrepreneurial role led to the over-emphasis on the economic and symbolic roles of the public space, while undermining its physical, social and political roles; and thus reduced the 'publicness' of the public space. It also shows the tendency of the local authority and the GT Partnership to use their collaborative, facilitating, co-ordinating and regulatory power to favour more the private interest and their political interest (particularly the political interest of the local authority) than the public interest.

As far as public involvement is concerned, this research found that the primary and daily users of the public space (such as pedestrians, shoppers, shopkeepers in the area, their employees and customers, street traders and taxi drivers) were mostly absent in the planning and design process. As explained in detail earlier, the GT Project had a special organisational structure, which allowed a large number and variety of public and private actors to access the activities and discussions, and the information about the planning and design process of the GMA through the GT Board and four advisory groups. In this sense, they significantly increased the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA. Yet, the examination of the Board and these advisory groups reveals that their accessibility was limited. That is to say, they were the pre-set arenas which were only open to their selected members, rather than all segments of the public. Their members were

the groups which the key actors (i.e. the GT Partnership and the local authority) targeted to work with. The activities and discussions, and the information about the planning and design process of the GMA scheme were only open to the groups which the GT Partnership and the NCC targeted, and the professional and technical consultancies of the Partnership and the local authority, rather than all segments of the public. Second, this research revealed that, particularly advisory groups did not provide discussion fora to exchange opinions about the public space between the members of these groups and public actors. In these groups, the interaction was rather one-way. For this reason, the advisory groups did not influence the design of the public space. Another finding of this research which undermined the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA is the lack of survey or interview which were carried out by the key actors in order to understand the problems of the main users of the public space. In addition, none of the key actors attempted to make meetings with the primary and daily users of the public space in order to learn, express and exchange ideas of these groups about the new design of the GMA. Moreover, this research found out that the standard public consultation was not carried out for the GMA scheme. Despite a big number and variety of users of the GMA, the lack of the public consultation undermined the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA. The 'publicness' of the process was also undermined by the absence of a public forum where the public and public actors could mutually express, exchange and influence opinions of each other with regard to the design of the public space. Even though the local authority was responsible for providing such a public arena, it is possible to note that they did not make any genuine effort to create a discussion forum which is open to all segments of the public. Instead, they used their collaborative role to work with the groups that they targeted, rather than all segments of the public. These are remarkable aspects, which undermined the 'publicness' of the planning and design process of the GMA.

Similar to the planning and design process, the construction of the GMA improvement scheme was carried out by a small group of public, semi-public and private actors. By playing the entrepreneurial role in the construction process, the public authority increased the 'publicness' of the construction process. Yet, the involvement of semi-public and private actors blurred the public-private distinction of the space and decreased the 'publicness' of the construction process of the GMA, although they worked under the control of public and semi-public actors. Another aspect which reduced the 'publicness' of the GMA is the limited access of the public to the information about the construction process.

Despite few remaining works, the new GMA almost has been completed. The new GMA has become a remarkably organised, safer and healthier environment, as well as highly accessible for disabled and elderly people and wheelchair and pushchair users. With the recent improvement

scheme, the public space of the GMA has significantly beautified by the development scheme. As one of the busiest and vivid public spaces of the city centre, it is still used by a great number and diversity of people. More than anything, it is a source of pride for the citizens of Newcastle. Regarding these aspects, the redevelopment scheme has significantly improved the 'publicness' of the GMA.

The investigation of the management and maintenance process revealed that the new public space mainly has been managed, maintained and controlled by the public authorities. This is an important aspect, which secures the 'publicness' of the public space. Yet, the intervention of the private and semi-public actors in the management of the GMA blurs the public-private distinction of the space; and reduced the 'publicness' of the GMA. Besides, the new street café on the public space has commercialised the GMA to a small extent. Nevertheless, the street café and special events on street organised and run by the semi-public actors enhance the 'publicness' of the public space, by contributing to the creation of a lively and vivid public environment. Another significant finding of this research is the increasing care and control of the public actors on the GMA through the management policies when compared to the old one. The increase in the control and care on the public space has been driven by the image-led regeneration strategies which targeted to promote Newcastle as the 'city of culture', the 'regional capital', the 'service city' and the 'city of transportation and communication'. The present management policies have created a prettier, cleaner, more ordered, disciplined, and safer public environment than the old one. This new public space has served the public and the public interest. In this sense, it has improved the 'publicness' of the new GMA. Yet, the present management and maintenance policies of the GMA are more restrictive than the previous ones. The increase in the control on the GMA has pushed certain groups out of the public space, restricted certain activities from occurring in the public space, and resulted in a decrease in the physical accessibility and the 'publicness' of the public space. When compared to the old GMA, the new GMA has become less accessible to the public. This is one of the features which reduced the 'publicness' of the GMA. Another feature which decreased the 'publicness' of the GMA is the management policies which have tended to strongly emphasise the symbolic and economic roles of the GMA, however, while, undermining its physical, social and political roles.

As far as the public accessibility of the new GMA is concerned, the recent development scheme of the GMA has improved the public accessibility of the public space, particularly for disabled and elderly people and wheelchair and pushchair users, in some aspects, while reducing the public accessibility in other aspects. Despite the sensitivity to the accessibility of disabled people, blind people are one of the disadvantaged groups whose accessibility has been restricted by the new

design of the GMA. As well as the blind people, this research revealed that the new design of the public space and other regeneration policies applied to the private space of Grey Street and its surroundings have resulted in the increase in the property values which brought about a shift in the users of private space from local, small business to big, national and international companies, as well as from small budget shoppers to affluent shoppers. In other words, the increase in the private property values has created to some extent gentrification; and thus decreased the physical accessibility of the public space. In this sense, the 'publicness' of the GMA has been reduced to some degree by the recent development scheme when particularly compared to the old GMA.

Concerning the interest of actors, this research showed that the GMA public space improvement scheme has significantly benefited private actors. The scheme benefited the retailers and other businesses in financial, professional, leisure and cultural services, as well as hackney carriages, bus companies and street traders operating in the site, by providing them a 'disciplined' and 'ordered' public space. Landowners, developers and investors of the private space around the GMA have benefited from the remarkable increase in the private property values around Grey Street and its surroundings due to the improved image of the area brought by the public space improvement scheme. In a wider context, the improved image of the area, which has boosted the development activities in the private space of Grey Street and its surroundings is benefiting and will benefit business interests in the financial industry, the construction industry and estate agencies. The private actors, which operated in the public space, have also benefited by keeping their position in such an exclusive and prestigious looking site.

As far as the interest of public and semi-public actors is concerned, the GMA scheme showed their success (particularly the success for the NCC) in urban regeneration and city-marketing and re-imaging projects. Their achievement of the GMA scheme was a vehicle of legitimacy for them and a way to improve their political credit. In addition, the Theatre Royal, as a semi-public actor, benefited from the scheme by gaining a new appearance and image to promote itself. It was also beneficiary of the scheme by gaining the operation of the street café on the new improved public space which provides them with a new source of revenue.

When the public interest is concerned, the redevelopment of the GMA has also benefited the public. Turning from a fairly chaotic and unorganised, simple and ordinary public space into a remarkably attractive, beautiful, more organised, cleaner, healthier and safer public space, the GMA improvement scheme has considerably served the public interest. It has also enhanced the public interest, by contributing to the regeneration of this part of the city centre. Despite these merits of the new public space, it contains some features which undermine the 'publicness' of the

GMA. The recent public space improvement scheme has turned the GMA into a means of regenerating this part of the city centre, as well as an instrument for building a new and positive image for Newcastle to promote itself in order to find a place in competitive urban markets. Additionally, the recent improvement scheme has turned the GMA into a means for generating profit for certain groups. Further, with the recent development scheme, the GMA started to serve as a means of consumption more than it used to do. Consequently, the recent development scheme produced a public space, where the economic and symbolic roles of the GMA are over-emphasised, while the social, political and some of the physical roles are undermined. The new public space of the GMA, with the over-emphasis of its economic and symbolic roles, favours the public interest less than it used to do.

The lack of the public realm in the development of the GMA is one of the main reasons for this outcome. The main design principles of the GMA which gave the major characteristics of the site were not determined in the public realm through discussions between the public and public actors. That is, they were not the consequence of the reconciliation with, or the consent of, the majority of public and private actors. In the development process, there was the absence of the public realm, which was open to all. This led certain actors to dominate the decision-making process of the design of the GMA, and consequently, brought about a design which favours the private interest more than the old GMA used to do.

Chapter 8: The comparison of the 'publicness' of the Haymarket Bus Station and the Grey's Monument Area

8.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to compare the 'publicness' of both the Haymarket Bus Station and the Grey's Monument Area, which are individually examined in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. It seeks to find out similarities and differences in the 'publicness' of both public spaces, which were built in the 1990s within the context of the regeneration and revitalisation projects of the city centre of Newcastle driven by city-marketing and re-imaging policies. On the basis of this purpose, first, this chapter examines similarities and differences in the main characteristics of both public spaces and their problems before the recent development schemes took place. Then, it tries to pinpoint similarities and differences in the 'publicness' of these public spaces with respect to their development and use processes according to the three criteria, i.e. 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'.

8.2 Major characteristics and problems of the HBS and the GMA before the recent development schemes

The HBS and the GMA were lively and colourful public spaces of the city centre, busy with people throughout the day and night. They served as the major communication and transport nodes of the city centre, since they were highly accessible for pedestrians, public transport and car users. Both places were also vivid and rich social environments. They were surrounded by a wide variety of retail and leisure activities, which attracted a large number and variety of people to these places.

Different from the HBS, financial, professional and cultural activities which occupied the private realm turned the GMA into a more distinctive environment. This is not the only difference between these two public spaces. The HBS and its environs had a very modest history which could be easily perceived from simple-looking buildings in this site. However, the GMA and Grey Street presented a cornerstone in the history of Newcastle. The GMA was one of the prominent symbols of the city, and an element which gave an identity to the city due to the presence of

magnificent historical buildings and the Grey's Monument that presented a significant democratic achievement in the history of the city. As well as its symbolic role, thanks to the attractive historical buildings and the Grey's Monument, the GMA provided this part of the city centre with a great visual variety, and significantly enhanced the aesthetic quality of the city centre. This is another feature where the GMA differs from the HBS. Another difference between them is related to their political roles. The HBS was not a political gathering place as the GMA has been. Nevertheless, both public spaces were the environments open to free and spontaneous actions, the places to surprise and to be surprised. Another common feature is their simple and ordinary public spaces, which were not different from other public spaces of the city centre. This was especially remarkable for the GMA. Despite the impressive and beautiful buildings in the site, the public space with its street pavement, street furniture and other design components was simple and ordinary, but multi-functional.

In spite of these merits, both public spaces used to suffer from traffic congestion, conflicts between pedestrian and vehicular traffic, poor quality of public environment, including highways, street and traffic signs. The old HBS, in particular, was poor in environmental quality, physical accessibility and integration with primary activities surrounding it, and did not function efficiently and safely for bus passengers, bus companies and the management authority of the bus station. With a chaotic, unorganised, crowded and filthy public space, the old bus station seemed to need more investment than the GMA did. It was possible to note vacant premises in both sites, especially on the upper floors, which suffered from lack of investors, developers and occupiers. Yet, the HBS looked like a more run-down part of the city centre than the GMA did, due to its marginal location, and the unattractive appearance of the private premises and the modest small retail units. The GMA, however, had an economically rising and rejuvenating appearance because of the regeneration schemes which were undertaken in Grey Street in the last two decades. Leading high-street retailers trading around the Monument, and other businesses in the site, specialised in financial, professional and cultural services and mainly served middle-income groups, also improved the image of the GMA. Overall, the Monument gave the image of a prospective regeneration area of the city centre.

8.3 The recent development process

Both the HBS and the GMA were redeveloped in the 1990s. The examination of these cases revealed that, with the recent improvement schemes, both public spaces were used as tools in the regeneration and revitalisation of the city centre, as well as in the construction of Newcastle's image in order to promote itself in competitive urban markets. This study also found out that, with

the recent improvement schemes, both public spaces turned into means of generating profit for some groups. Further, they started to serve as instruments of increasing consumption more than they used to do. Consequently, both the HBS and the GMA became better-looking and better-maintained, but less 'public' spaces, compared to the old ones. In both cases, this end was partly prepared for by macro-scale policies.

8.3.1 Macro-scale policies

The macro-scale policies of the HBS and the GMA comprised differences in terms of their emphasis on the 'publicness' of the public spaces. For the HBS, the policies sought to develop a safe, attractive, pedestrian-friendly and physically accessible public space. Yet, they encouraged the commodification of the bus station and its environs to a degree, by showing the HBS as an exchange material for the provision of a new bus station. Additionally, they provided the legislative basis for the privatisation of the provision of the public space to an extent, by encouraging the private sector involvement in the redevelopment of a new bus station. Further, they encouraged the commercialisation of the site where the old bus station stood, by opening up the area to retail development.

Among these policies, the only similarity between the HBS and the GMA is the promotion of the commercialisation of the public space. The macro-scale policies of the GMA showed the tendency toward commercialisation of the public space to a small extent, by encouraging the development of street cafés. Yet, they did not constitute any intention towards commodification and privatisation of the public space. The key planning policies related to the GMA was partly shaped by *Regeneration Strategy*, which consisted of the regeneration policies for Grainger Town. The policy document considered the promotion of the nineteenth-century city centre crucial for the regeneration of Newcastle and the region, and for increasing the competitiveness of the city in urban markets. Within this context, it strongly proposed the improvement of the public spaces in Grainger Town in order to use them as means to regenerate this part of the city centre and to construct a new image for Newcastle.

When the intentions of the macro-scale policies of both cases are studied, it is possible to note that, with the proposals of commodification, privatisation and commercialisation of the public space, the macro-scale policies related to the HBS blurred more the public-private distinction of the space, and decreased more the 'publicness' of the public space than those related to the GMA did. Nevertheless, the attempt of the macro-scale policies which aimed at developing safer, more convenient, attractive and accessible public spaces on the Haymarket and the Monument increased the 'publicness' of the public spaces. The macro-scale policies about the GMA,

particularly *Regeneration Strategy*, did not give any clue about the change in the 'publicness' of the public spaces of Grainger Town (including the GMA). But, they set the idea of using the public spaces as the means of urban regeneration and city-imaging and marketing policies.

8.3.2 Planning, design and construction phases

Both the HBS and the GMA were developed through public-private partnership. This is an important feature, which blurred the public-private distinction of the space; and reduced the 'publicness' of both public spaces. Despite this common point, one of the major differences between the two public realm schemes is related to the dominance of public and private actors within the partnership. The public-private partnership, which the GMA scheme was based on, was dominated by public and semi-public actors, while there was a more balanced involvement of public and private parties in the HBS redevelopment scheme. So, does this mean anything in terms of the 'publicness' of these public space schemes? The answer to this question is related to the number and the variety of actors which each partnership allowed to be involved in the development process. In the HBS, the public-private partnership was open to a small group of public and private actors which included the developer and landowners of the site, the large business interests, the professional consultants, the construction companies and the local public agencies. However, the GT Partnership, which the GMA scheme was based on, allowed a larger number, and a wider variety of public and private actors to be involved in the development process. Thanks to the organisation of the GT Partnership (the GT Board and four advisory groups), particularly the planning and design process of the GMA was open to the public agencies at the local, regional and central government levels, local, national and international business interests (and even the business interests of an ethnic minority), private practices in professional services, religious services, charities and the residential population of Grainger Town. In addition, a big number of private professional consultant companies took part in the development process of the GMA. When compared to the HBS scheme, the GT Partnership let a bigger number, and more variety of public and private actors to access the activities and discussion, and the information about the development process of the public space. Thus, the GT Partnership was more public than the partnership that the HBS scheme was based on.

In spite of the presence of a rich range of public and private actors which were involved in the development process of the GMA, a small number of actors, which constituted public and semi-public actors and their private professional consultants, played critical roles in the development process of the public space. In this sense, the GMA scheme is quite similar to the HBS scheme, since the development process of the bus station was also led by a small group of public and private actors. Both public spaces also show similarities in terms of the actors which played

crucial roles in the schemes. The developers and landowners of the site, and their private professional consultants took part in the development processes of both schemes. Unlike the GMA, the HBS scheme included the large business interests as the main shareholders of the scheme and a big construction company as the key actor (i.e., private actors) which carried out the development of the bus station. However, in the GMA, the local authority (i.e., public actor) were the main developer and landowner of the scheme. Despite this difference in terms of the dominant parties in the development processes, another remarkable common point between the two public spaces is the involvement of private actors. The involvement and dominant influence of only a small group of the private actors in the development process of both schemes led the provision of the public space to be blurred and therefore the 'publicness' of the development of the public spaces to be reduced to a certain extent. For the HBS, the leadership and control of the large business interest, especially M&S, in the development of the bus station, brought about the privatisation of the provision of the public space. In this sense, the HBS exemplifies a less 'public' scheme than the GMA does.

The involvement and dominance of private actors had significant impacts in the design (and thus the quality) of these public spaces. For the HBS, the private actors as the shareholders of the scheme (especially M&S) changed the design of the public space which led to a significant improvement in their private benefit, but, at the same time, a considerable decrease in the public interest. For the GMA, however, the involvement of the private professional consultants did not enhance their private interests, especially in relation to the public space, since they were not the shareholders of the scheme. But with their involvement, they identified the key design principles, the prominent of which were to develop a 'good-looking' and 'high-quality' public space, rather than a 'well-functioning' public space, and to promote the aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street. Thus, they pioneered the idea of emphasising especially the economic and symbolic values of the public space.

As well as the involvement of the private actors, unlike the HBS, the development process of the GMA included the GT Partnership which is a semi-public actor. The GT Partnership, which acted as one of the major driving forces of the development process, reduced the 'publicness' of the GMA. Nonetheless, the involvement of the public actors in the development processes of both the HBS and the GMA which increased their 'publicness' is an important similarity between these two cases.

As far as the involvement of public actors is considered, the involvement of the NCC, in particular, is remarkable in terms of their active presence, strong influence and dominance in the

development of both public spaces. They played various roles in the production of the HBS and the GMA. First of all, the local authority played a '*leading*' role in the development processes of both examples. This is especially notable through the dominant influence of the local authority in the determination of the design principles of both public spaces, as well as their role to carry out the detailed design and construction works of the hard landscaping of the GMA. Second, the public actors played a '*regulatory*' role in the development processes of both public spaces. They led the public consultation to take place, monitored the development processes very closely and made sure that the development processes were carried out according to regulations, plan and design briefs. This can be more notable in the HBS than in the other case, since the developer in the HBS is a private actor, which made the regulatory role of the public authority more apparent. Third, the local authority played an '*entrepreneurial*' role in the development processes of both public spaces. As far as the HBS is concerned, the '*entrepreneurial*' role of the local authority can be seen through their success of exchanging an old, chaotic and filthy bus station with a new, attractive, organised and a higher capacity one at almost no cost to the public. Hence, they produced a significant deal of benefit on behalf of the public. As for the GMA, the NCC manifested their entrepreneurial role by carrying out detailed design and construction works of the public space; and therefore by seeking to develop the public environment at the least cost to the public. But more important than this, by using the public space as an economic value generator, the local authority led to create a very attractive, distinctive and exclusive public environment, which increased the land values of the private realm around the new public space, attracted new investments to the private realm and thus increased speculative development schemes in order to bring back the economic vitality around this part of the city. This is another characteristic which shows the '*entrepreneurial*' role of the local authority.

It should be noted that the involvement of the public authority in the development processes improved the 'publicness' of the provision of the public spaces. Particularly with their leading, regulatory and entrepreneurial roles, the public actor led to the production of better-looking and better-operating, safer, and more disciplined public realms, which are in the public interest. Nevertheless, especially with their entrepreneurial role, which was driven by the ambition to regenerate and revitalise the city centre and to re-image and market the city, the NCC used their power more to produce 'good-looking' public spaces than to provide 'well-functioning' public spaces. This attitude of public actor caused the creation of the public spaces where the economic and symbolic roles were over-emphasised, whereas the physical, social, psychological and political roles were undermined. As mentioned above, the public authority led the development of attractive, exclusive and distinctive public spaces which became the means to increase the land values, to attract new investments and to increase speculative developments. As a result, these

public spaces turned into the tools to generate profit for certain groups (such as landowners, developers, investors), and hence they started to serve certain segments of the public, particularly due to the over-emphasis of their economic and symbolic roles. Through the entrepreneurial role of the local authority, these public spaces have turned, therefore, into the environments which favoured the private interest more than they used to do. This undermined the 'publicness' of these public spaces.

Finally, the NCC performed a '*collaborative*' role. This role is significantly remarkable in the GMA, in which public and semi-public actors succeeded in gathering together and co-operating with a large number of public and private actors under the organisation of the GT Partnership. In the HBS, however, the NCC collaborated with a smaller number of public and private actors. Thus, the GMA scheme exemplifies a more 'public' project than the HBS scheme in terms of the number and the variety of public and private actors which the local authority collaborated with. Yet, the examination of the stakeholders with which the public authority collaborated showed that the NCC mainly collaborated with the stakeholders that they targeted rather than all segments of the public. This is the common aspect of both cases which significantly undermined their 'publicness'.

As far as public involvement is concerned, this research found out that the primary and daily users of the public spaces (such as pedestrians, shoppers, bus passengers, shopkeepers in the area, their employees and customers, street traders and taxi drivers) were mostly absent in the development processes. That is, the accessibility of a large part of the public to activities and discussions, and information about the development processes of the HBS and the GMA was poor. First of all, this can be seen by the planning and design processes of both cases which were only open to public and private actors that the public authority targeted to work with, rather than all segments of the public. Another indication of the absence of the public is the lack of public survey or interviews which should be ideally undertaken by the local authority in order to learn problems and expectations of the main users with regard to the public spaces. This is also notable with regard to the lack of attempt of the local authority towards making meetings with the primary and daily users of the public spaces in order to learn, express and exchange ideas of these groups about the new designs of the HBS and the GMA. Further, this research found that the public consultation in the HBS and the GT Board and four advisory groups in the GMA did not perform as the arenas to exchange opinions about the public spaces between the groups which were involved and public actors. The interaction was mostly one-way in these public arenas. These features of the development process undermined the 'publicness' of both cases.

As well as these similarities, the GMA exemplifies a less 'public' scheme than the HBS with respect to the standard public consultation. Different from the HBS, the standard public consultation was not open to the public.

On the basis of both cases, this research reached to a conclusion that there was a significant absence of a public forum, in which the public and public actors expressed, exchanged and influence opinions on the design of both public spaces that were to be built. Although the local authority was responsible for providing such a public forum, this research revealed that they did not make any genuine effort to create it for the public. The lack of the concern of the public authority to public involvement and participation in the design of the public spaces undermined their 'publicness'.

As far as the HBS is concerned, the lack of the concern of the public authority to public involvement in the development processes of the public spaces is more notable than the other case. In this case, the NCC clearly ignored the public reactions against the development scheme concerning the destruction of The Farmers' Rest public house. Additionally, they ignored the public objections, which pointed out significant issues regarding the public interest. However, in the GMA, the presence of the GT Board, and four advisory groups shows the concern of the public actor to public involvement in the scheme to some extent. Hence, the HBS is less public than the GMA in terms of the lack of the concern of the local authority on public involvement and participation in the design of the public space.

8.4 The use process

8.4.1 Management and maintenance phase

The HBS was completed a few years ago, while the construction work of the GMA are about to be completed. Both public spaces mainly have been managed and maintained by public actors. This is an important feature, which secures the 'publicness' of these public spaces. Yet, both public spaces comprise some components, which blur the public-private distinction of the space, and jeopardise the 'publicness' of these places. For the HBS, the contribution of private actors (mainly high-street retailers and bus companies) to the management and maintenance costs of the space, their intervention into the operation of the public space through their security guards and security cameras, and the provision of the public transportation services are the key elements which partly privatise the management of the public space, and reduce its 'publicness'. The GMA, however, does not constitute any indication of privatisation. It only includes a few components, such as the City Centre Management, which mainly relies on the fund of the large business

interests to organise some events on the new public space, the street café in front of the Theatre Royal, the occupation of the taxis on the pedestrian-priority part of the public realm, which blur the public-private distinction of the space. It should be noted that the GMA is a much milder example than the HBS, in terms of the features which undermine the 'publicness' of the management of the public spaces.

The analysis of the management and maintenance policies of the public actors shows that, within the context of the image-led regeneration strategies, public actors tend to provide a higher standard of maintenance service, and introduce more control than they used to do before, since they want to create prettier, cleaner, more ordered, disciplined and safer public spaces than the old HBS and GMA. The increasing care on both public spaces to keep them clean and tidy at day or night, the pots of flowers placed on different part of the pavement to beautify the urbanscape, increasing information and communication services available on the public spaces for the public and tourists to give information about the city are the examples which show the increasing standards of management and maintenance of both cases. Similarly, the security cameras which were recently introduced to the site, the increase in the level of street lighting, the classical music played in the bus station, and the direct intervention in the space by the police show that there is an increase in the control of both public spaces. It is possible to note that the control elements are more used in the HBS than in the GMA.

The new management policies of both cases create safer, more peaceful and attractive public spaces for the public than they were before. In this sense, the accessibility of both the HBS and the GMA was increased by the management policies when compared to that of the old ones. Yet, the increase in the control on the new public spaces has led to certain groups being pushed out of these public spaces, restricts certain activities from occurring in them, and thus promoted to some extent gentrification, social stratification and fragmentation, and social exclusion. The increase in the control on the new HBS and GMA decreased their physical accessibility, and thus their 'publicness'. It is also possible to note that the control in the HBS is much stricter than the ones in the GMA. Hence, physical accessibility of the HBS has been reduced more than the ones of the GMA. In this sense, the new management policies of the HBS have promoted gentrification, social stratification and fragmentation, and social exclusion more than those of the GMA have done. So, the management policies of the HBS lead to create a less 'public' space than those of the GMA do.

The analysis of the new management policies also shows the attempts of public actors to over-emphasise the symbolic and economic roles of these public spaces by increasing the care and

standards of management and maintenance services. In doing so, public authorities create attractive environments which will not only develop a positive image for Newcastle, but also turn the private spaces in these parts of the city centre into attractive spots for investors and developers to invest, for affluent groups to live, work, shop and spend their free time with leisure activities and for tourists to visit. Hence, the increasing management and maintenance standards not only improve the services to ease the life of the public on street, but also turn these public spaces into the means of the regeneration of these parts of the city centre and the instruments of the city-imaging and city-marketing policies. Moreover, they turn these public spaces into means to increase land values, to attract new investments and therefore to generate profit for certain groups, such as landowners, developers and investors. In this sense, to a certain extent, the new management policies commercialise these public spaces. This is a common characteristic of both cases, which reduces their physical accessibility; and undermines their 'publicness'.

It is possible to note that the GMA exemplifies more powerfully the promotion of the public space as means of urban regeneration and city-imaging through management policies. Comparing to the HBS, the GMA is also a sharper example in terms of a public space which is used as tools of generating profit for certain groups through management policies. Because it is not only notable with the increasing cleaning services, the elements which embellish the urbanscape and the new electronic communication services, but also the street café which creates a special atmosphere, just like a street in a continental European city. In this sense, the new management policies of the GMA undermine its 'publicness' more than those of the HBS do.

8.4.2 Use phase

8.4.2.1 Actor

The new HBS and GMA are still the two busiest public spaces of the city centre. A great deal of diverse groups use these public spaces. The predominant users of both public spaces are still pedestrians, shoppers, bus and metro passengers. Another group of users of the HBS and the GMA is the working population. For the GMA, the working population of the private spaces consists of business groups specialised on retailing, professional, financial and leisure services and their employees. For the HBS, retailers and their employees constitute the working population of the private spaces. As for the working population of the public space, the bus companies operating on these sites, hackney carriages and street traders are common types of users in both public spaces. Unlike the GMA, the HBS also comprises bus drivers and employees of the bus station operator as the users of the public space. The GMA, however, is different from the HBS, by accommodating the user groups such as street performers, people protesting ideas, making sale

promotions, advertising and publicity campaigns. In this sense, the GMA is presently used by a wider variety of users than the HBS.

8.4.2.2 Access

The new designs of both public spaces significantly improved their physical accessibilities, especially compared to those before the improvement schemes took place. The improvement in the accessibility of disabled and elderly people and wheelchair and pushchair users, in general, remarkably increased the 'publicness' of these public spaces. In spite of these improvements, the new designs of both cases comprise some characteristics which reduced their physical accessibility. Some of these features are in fact the failures of their new designs which are mainly the outcomes of the ambition of the public authority to produce 'good-looking', rather than 'well-functioning' public spaces. For the HBS, the lack of a passageway between the Haymarket and Northumberland Street which is open to the public at day and night is one of these design failures of the scheme, despite the fact that it was one of the major needs of this site. The second design failures are the new alternative passageways which are under the private control with a restricted access to the public. The staircase which was developed as a part of this passageway and which is inadequate in terms of the accessibility of disabled and elderly people, as well as the pushchair and wheelchair users, is also another new design problem that reduces physical accessibility of the bus station. Additionally, the small bus operation area and strictly-designed passenger waiting area, the design of Prudhoe Street and Prudhoe Place which causes a severe traffic jam on the Haymarket and Percy Street, are other design failures that undermine physical accessibility of the public space. Finally, physical accessibility of the HBS is jeopardised by the new problem areas within the bus station which cause the continuous conflict between pedestrian and vehicular traffic. Similar to the HBS, the pedestrian-vehicular conflict on Blackett Street and the pedestrian-priority part on Grey Street, and the new surface treatment on Grey Street which jeopardises the accessibility of blind people are the design problems which decrease the public accessibility of the Monument. From these examples, it is possible to note that the HBS comprises more design failures which decrease physical accessibility of the public space than the GMA does.

Besides, this research revealed that the new design of these cases resulted in the change in their user profile. Since the development schemes were completed, both public spaces have tended to attract and welcome more the affluent groups than other segments of the public. This causes a decrease in physical accessibility of both public spaces. The change in user profile resulted partly from changes in the private realm, and partly from the new design features of these cases. When the changes in the private realm are considered, in the HBS, the recent redevelopment scheme led to replace the small and modest retailers of the old Haymarket with the up-market retailers

(mainly large, international business interests), which attract now more the affluent shoppers and consumers to the Haymarket than the small and local retailers used to do. In the GMA, the regeneration schemes of the private realm brought about the development of the expensive, exclusive and prestigious office, retail and residential uses, and therefore changed user profile of the private realm from local and small moderate-size business interests to big, national and international companies, and from budget shoppers and consumers to affluent shoppers and consumers. This change reduced to some extent public accessibility of the GMA, particularly compared to the old GMA.

As far as the new design features are considered, they also encourage the change in users profile of the public spaces. With their exclusive and distinctive appearances, the new design characteristics increase the land values around these public spaces, and thus they tend to attract more the affluent groups which can afford these properties, goods and services, than other segments of the population. Additionally, with the principle of 'exclusivity' embedded in their design, the new public spaces tend to impress and attract more the affluent groups than other segments of the public, and thus reduce their physical accessibility. In this sense, the new design features of both public spaces decrease their 'publicness' when compared to that before the recent improvement schemes took place.

It should be noted that, compared to the GMA, the HBS scheme brought about a more dramatic change in user profile of the Haymarket. The new design displaces small retailers and their budget shoppers and consumers, by welcoming large, international business interests and their affluent shoppers and consumers. As a result, the variety and diversity of user groups of the Haymarket remarkably decreased. However, the change in user profile in Grey Street started earlier than the recent development scheme. Thus, the impact of the GMA scheme on the gentrification of the site is less strong than that of the HBS scheme.

Finally, the introduction of a more 'control' is a common design characteristic of both public spaces, which resulted in the reduction in their physical accessibility. More specifically, the new designs turned them into more 'disciplined' and 'ordered' spaces than they used to be. Regarding the GMA, the removal of on-street car park and taxi rank on Grey Street, which attempted to eliminate the elements such as smoke, noise, parking and traffic, brought about a degree of control on the people who would be and the activities which would take place in this space. The control on the public space is also tightened by the introduction of a few benches with a tough and cold material, which create uncomfortable seats, and so do not allow people to sit for a long time, or sleep on. Similar to the GMA, the rigid design of the bus station, which seeks to impose the

restrictions on which activity would occur, where it will occur and who will be involved in this activity, clearly exemplify the intention towards increasing control on this public space. It should be noted that the 'disciplined' and 'ordered' public spaces provide comfort and convenience for their users (i.e., pedestrians, bus passengers, shoppers and so on), and help the smooth operation of the retailers and the management authorities. Further, they promote the 'good' images of the Haymarket and the Monument. Nevertheless, these new design principles dictate some restrictions on the activities which will occur in these public spaces, particularly on the spontaneous activities which normally attract a variety and diversity of people. This can be seen more in the HBS than the GMA; because there is no room for informal activities; i.e. spontaneous and free action, in the new bus station. For this reason, it is not common to see homeless people, beggars, street vendors, musicians, public performers, noisy teenagers and children who hang around in the bus station. However, the new design of the GMA is less rigid than the HBS. In other words, the design characteristics which reinforce 'control' can be found less in the GMA than the HBS. In terms of physical accessibility, the new GMA is less restrictive than the new bus station; and hence, provides a more 'public' space than the new HBS.

8.4.2.3 Interest

Considering the interests of actors, the new designs of both the HBS and the GMA are highly beneficial for private actors. The private actors which were involved in the development processes (i.e., the developers and shareholders of the schemes, the construction companies and the private professional consultants) significantly benefited from the recent schemes. The private actors which used to operate in these public spaces before the redevelopment schemes took place, such as hackney carriages, street traders and bus companies, have also benefited from the schemes, by keeping their position on such exclusive and prestigious sites. As well as the private actors operating in the public spaces, the retailers and other businesses operating in the private realm around these public spaces (particularly large, national and international business interests) have benefited from these schemes, which have provided them with 'disciplined' and 'ordered' public spaces to operate. The improvement schemes also benefited up-market retailers, property and landowners, developers and investments of the private realm around the Haymarket and the Monument, by improving the image of these areas and increasing the private property values around these public spaces. In a wider context, the improved images of these areas which have boosted the development activities in the private spaces around the Haymarket and the Monument are benefiting and will benefit business interests in the financial industry, the construction industry and estate agencies.

In the HBS, M&S, S&N Breweries and the bus companies significantly benefited from the scheme due to their dominant involvement in the development process. M&S and S&N Breweries were the prominent beneficiaries. They increased their commercial profit, since they increased their trading area, gained a good position next to a very busy bus station and better facilities for trading. The bus companies also were among the beneficiaries of the scheme. Without much effort, they gained a bigger bus station with better operation facilities. In these aspects, the HBS scheme favoured the private interests more than the GMA scheme did.

As far as the interest of public actors is considered, both schemes were beneficial particularly for the local authority in terms of showing their success in urban regeneration and city-marketing and re-imaging projects. Their achievement of the improvement of both public spaces was a vehicle of legitimacy for them and a way for improving their political credit. Different from the GMA, the NCC had a special profit from the HBS scheme. Through their entrepreneurial role, they finalised a very successful deal with the private sector on behalf of the public. Besides, the HBS scheme was also beneficial for NEXUS, the operator of the bus station. By gaining a better-operating bus station which provides more revenue than the old one, the HBS scheme significantly benefited NEXUS.

When the public interest is taken into consideration, the improvement of both public spaces also benefited the public. After the completion of the redevelopment schemes, the HBS and the GMA became more attractive, cleaner, safer and healthier public spaces than the old ones. They are still the busiest public spaces of the city centre. A great deal of diverse groups use these public spaces. With their new designs, they are the source of pride for Newcastle and its citizens. Moreover, both schemes enhanced the public interest, by contributing to the economic and urban regeneration of these parts of the city centre. They have attracted inward investment to these sites, created new jobs, brought under-used buildings back into use, and hence brought back economic vitality to these sites. With regard to these aspects, the redevelopment schemes significantly served the public interest.

Despite these merits, this research found that both the HBS and the GMA contained some features which undermine the public interest. By promoting their economic and symbolic roles, the recent development schemes used both public spaces as means which would help the regeneration of the city centre, and instruments which would contribute to the construction of a new and positive image for Newcastle to promote, and to find itself a place in competitive urban markets. Besides, this research revealed that the recent improvement schemes commercialised these public spaces to an extent, by turning them into the entities which would generate profit for certain groups.

Additionally, with the recent schemes, both public spaces started to operate as the means to increase consumption more than they used to do. As a result of these changes, the HBS and the GMA became the public spaces where the economic and symbolic roles were over-emphasised, while the social, political and some of the physical roles were undermined. With such new characteristics, the new public spaces favour the public interest less than they used to do.

The indications of the arguments above can be seen particularly through the intention to enhance the visual quality of the HBS and the GMA and to create a strong visual identity for them. It is possible to note that the new designs include high-quality, chic and elegant construction materials, street furniture, signs and public artworks in order to create very attractive and distinctive public spaces. The design elements which create a 'chic architecture', and the principle of 'exclusivity in design' which intends to attract, impress and at the same time promote the 'feeling of affluence' are also the common design features which seek to create beautiful, exclusive and distinctive public spaces. In addition, the new designs of these cases include various manufactured and existing historical and cultural images, which are not in harmony with each other, but create a 'scenographic variety'. This is another indication for the tendency to create public spaces with enhanced visual quality and strong visual identity. It is possible to note that these design features were used more in the design of the GMA than in that of the HBS. In spite of this difference, the major goal which is behind these design features, is to emphasise symbolic and economic roles of these public spaces.

The emphasis on economic and symbolic values of these public spaces is a part of the city centre regeneration policies, which see them as means of economic value generation. By enhancing their visual quality, and creating a strong visual identity for them, both schemes used the public spaces as tools to develop a positive image of the Haymarket and the Monument, and thus to increase the land values, to attract the affluent groups and inward investment to these parts of the city centre. In other words, in both schemes, the public spaces are used as economic catalysts in the regeneration of the city centre. The symbolic values of both public spaces are promoted in order to use their economic value generator role for the regeneration of two declining sites of the city centre. It is possible to note that the GMA scheme promoted the public space as means of urban regeneration more than the HBS scheme did, since it comprised the elements which emphasise economic and symbolic roles of the public spaces more than the HBS did.

The strong stress on economic and symbolic roles of the public spaces is also a part of the city-marketing and re-imaging policies. It should be noted that neither the GMA, nor the HBS was seen by the public authorities as the places which would simply function as means of public

transportation services, or a passageway, a meeting and gathering place, a place of entertainment, celebrations and protest for local people. Within the context of city-marketing and re-imaging strategies, both public spaces were considered as the instruments which would help Newcastle to build the image of the 'city of culture', the 'regional capital', the 'service city', the 'working city', the 'party city', and the 'city of transportation and communication', and thus help the city to find a place in competitive urban markets. For this reason, symbolic and economic values of both public spaces were promoted through the development schemes. While a new and grandiose image was manufactured for the HBS, existing aesthetic, historical and cultural legacy, as well as active and rich economic, social and cultural life of Grey Street were underlined in the new design of the GMA. Nevertheless, by promoting symbolic and economic roles, both schemes aimed at impressing national and international developers, investors, the employees of these investors (mainly service sector), affluent groups and tourists, and thus attracting inward investment to Newcastle. Again, it is possible to note that, within the context of city-marketing and re-imaging policies, the symbolic values of both public spaces have been used to promote and use their economic value generator roles. Compared to the HBS, the GMA scheme exemplifies the attempt of promoting symbolic roles of the public spaces strongly, since it comprised the elements which emphasise symbolic values of Grey Street more than the HBS scheme did. The GMA, as a public space, is used, therefore, as means of city-marketing more than the HBS is.

Another reason for the considerable emphasis on economic roles of the HBS and the GMA is the effort to use these public spaces as means of increasing consumption. It is possible to note that the recent development schemes created beautiful and exclusive public spaces with a number of different design features which attract the visitors to these sites, and encourage them to eat, drink and shop, and thus function more as the landscape of increasing consumption that they used to do.

Additionally, the over-emphasis on economic and symbolic roles is the result of the attempt of the recent development schemes to use these public spaces as instruments to generate economic value for the private space surrounding them, and thus to produce profit. That is, the recent schemes commercialised these public spaces to an extent, by using them as tools to produce profit for some groups, such as landowner, property owners, investors and developers of the private space around the Haymarket, and the Monument, as well as the business interests operating around these sites.

While the new designs of both public spaces over-emphasise their economic and symbolic roles, their social, political and some of physical roles are undermined. First of all, both cases have become more 'disciplined' and 'ordered' places than they were before. As explained in detailed in section 8.4.2.2, the recent schemes reduced physical accessibility of both public spaces. The new

designs of the HBS and the GMA are now promoting and enhancing gentrification, social stratification, and social exclusion. This is an important feature of the recent development schemes, which undermine social roles of the public spaces. Besides, the recent design schemes weakened the role of the public spaces as the 'social binders'. The new designs of both cases brought various images together. For the HBS, the new design manufactured a 'grandiose' image for the Haymarket, while the new design of the GMA promoted a number of existing historical and cultural images of Grey Street. Moreover, it brought a few imported images into the new public space of the GMA. The common point of both design schemes is the use and promotion of imported and fragmented images which cause the confusion over symbolic meanings that these public spaces represent for people from different class, gender and ethnicity backgrounds. This is another important feature, which undermines their social roles.

Unlike the HBS, the recent development scheme of the GMA undermines social and political roles of the public space, by commodifying the historical and cultural legacy of Grey Street in order to impress and attract developers, investors, affluent groups and tourists. Consequently, the recent development scheme strips these assets of Grey Street from their social, political and historical contexts; i.e. it de-contextualises them.

Besides, the new HBS and GMA have still some problems which were not resolved through the recent development schemes, such as the inefficient-working bus station because of the small operation area and passenger waiting area, conflict between pedestrian and vehicular traffic for the HBS and the GMA. In addition, both public spaces constitute some design features which do not please the users of these public realms and do not favour the public interest, like poor public facilities, the ventilation problem of the bus station, and traffic congestion in both the bus station and the Monument area.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter sought to compare the 'publicness' of the two public spaces which were redeveloped in the 1990s in the city centre of Newcastle. It tried to find similarities and differences in the 'publicness' of these cases by analysing their development and use processes through the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. On the basis of the analysis, this research revealed that before the development schemes took place, the HBS and the GMA, the two busiest public spaces of the city centre, served as the major communication and transportation nodes and the lively social environments. Unlike the HBS, the GMA was a symbolically important public space for Newcastle, and a significant spot which used to provide visual variety and enhance the aesthetic

quality of the city. Despite the impressive and beautiful buildings, the appearance of the public space with its pavement material and street furniture was simple and ordinary, just like the other parts of the public spaces in the city centre. Similar to the GMA, the public space of the HBS did not have any distinguished appearance. As well as this similarity, both places used to suffer from a number of physical problems, such as traffic congestion, conflicts between pedestrian and vehicular traffic, poor quality of public space, as well as urban and economic decline due to the lack of developers, investors and occupiers. Despite the problems of both cases which comprised similarities, the problems and the poor appearance of the HBS showed the need for improvement more than the public space of the GMA did.

Pioneered by the local authority, both public spaces were redeveloped in the 1990s within the context of the city centre regeneration and revitalisation schemes. Consequently, both the HBS and the GMA turned into 'good-looking' and 'well-maintained', but 'less' public spaces than they used to be. To a certain degree, this was brought about by macro-scale policies. Yet, the major contribution was made through the recent development schemes of these public spaces, which were carried out through public-private partnerships with a limited access to primary and daily users of the public spaces. The public-private partnerships, on which the HBS and GMA improvement schemes were based, show differences in terms of the dominance of public and private actors. The GT Partnership which the GMA scheme was based on was dominated by public and semi-public actors, while there was a more balanced involvement of public and private actors in the partnership of the HBS scheme. Nevertheless, the development of both public spaces through public-private partnership blurred the public-private distinction of the space, and reduced the 'publicness' of these public spaces.

The development processes of both cases were dominated by a small group of public and private actors which mainly comprised developers and landowners of the sites and private professional consultants. The involvement and dominance of only a small group of private actors in the development processes blurred the public-private distinction of the space and thus reduced the 'publicness' of these public spaces. Particularly for the HBS, the control and dominance of the private actors on the development of the bus station partly privatised the provision of the public space. Nonetheless, public actors, which were involved in the development processes of both cases by playing leading, regulatory and entrepreneurial roles, improved the 'publicness' of these public spaces. In spite of this contribution, with the ambition to regenerate the city centre driven by city-marketing and re-imaging policies, the local authority led the development of the public spaces where economic and symbolic roles were strongly emphasised. They used both the HBS and the GMA as means of urban regeneration and city-imaging and city-marketing policies.

Additionally, they turned these public spaces into instruments which would generate profit for certain groups; i.e., they commercialised these public spaces to an extent. So, these public spaces became the environments which served in the private interest more than they used to do. This is a significant common feature of both public spaces which reduced their 'publicness'. Another common characteristic which undermined the 'publicness' of these public spaces, is the collaborative and co-operative roles of the local authority with some stakeholders of the public realm improvement schemes rather than all segments of the public. In other words, the poor collaboration of the local authority with all segments of the public, and thus insufficient public involvement in the development processes of these public spaces significantly undermined their 'publicness'.

When both public spaces are compared to each other, the GMA seemed to be more 'public' than the HBS. First, through the GMA scheme, a wider variety of, and a larger number of public and private actors were involved in the planning and design process of the public space. Second, the private actors of the GMA (i.e., private professional consultants) were less dominant in the development process than those of the HBS. Finally, the private actors which were involved in the GMA scheme did not bring about direct private benefits to them in relation to the public space, as the private actors (such as M&S and the S&N Breweries) did in the HBS project.

As far as the management and maintenance phases of the HBS and the GMA are concerned, this research showed that, although both public spaces are publicly managed and maintained, they comprise some components, which blur the public-private distinction of these spaces, and hence reduce the 'publicness' of these places. The analysis of the new management policies also revealed that, even though the policies tend to create safer, cleaner and more attractive public spaces for the public than they used to do before, they intend to promote gentrification, social stratification and fragmentation, and social exclusion to some extent, especially due to the increasing control imposed on the space. Finally, the investigation of the new management policies showed that, by over-emphasising symbolic and economic roles, they use these public spaces as means of the city centre regeneration and city-imaging and city-marketing policies. Moreover, they commercialise these places to a certain degree, by promoting them as the tools to generate profit for certain groups, such as landowners, developers and investors. Hence, to some extent, the new management policies undermine the 'publicness' of these public spaces.

This research found that, different from the GMA, the HBS comprises the elements which partly privatise the management of the public space. Additionally, the new management policies of the HBS impose control on the public space more than the ones of the GMA do. In this sense, the

HBS promotes gentrification, social stratification and fragmentation, and social exclusion more than the GMA does. With regard to these features of the new management policies, the HBS exemplifies, therefore, a less 'public' space. Nevertheless, the GMA is a sharper example than the HBS, in terms of the promotion of the public space as the means of city centre regeneration and city-imaging and city-marketing policies through management policies. Compared to the HBS, the GMA is also a stronger example with regard to the commercialisation of the public space and the generation of profit for certain segments of the population through management policies.

When the use phases of these public spaces are examined, the investigation showed that, the new public spaces are still predominantly used by pedestrians, shoppers, bus and metro passengers. Apart from these groups, the working population of both private and public spaces (like business groups specialised on retailing, professional, financial and leisure services, and their employees, bus companies, hackney carriages, street traders) also include the main user groups. This research found that the GMA is busier than the HBS, since it accommodates the user groups mentioned above, as well as street performers, people protesting ideas, making sale promotions, advertising and publicity campaigns.

As far as physical accessibility of both public spaces is concerned, they are highly accessible places. The recent development schemes remarkably improved their physical accessibilities, in comparison to those before the recent projects took place. But, the new designs of both public spaces comprise some features (mainly design failures) which reduced to some extent their physical accessibilities. There are also some design principles which reduced physical accessibility of the HBS and the GMA by changing their user profile. These principles pushed certain groups out of these public spaces and restricted certain activities from occurring in these places. Consequently, they brought about gentrification, social exclusion, social stratification and fragmentation to a degree; and reduced physical accessibility of these public spaces. This research found that the HBS comprises such design principles more than the GMA does. In addition, the examination of two cases showed that the impact of the HBS scheme on the gentrification of the site was stronger than that of the GMA project. In this sense, the new design of the HBS promotes more gentrification, social exclusion, social stratification and fragmentation than the new design of the GMA does. Thus, it reduced more physical accessibility of the Haymarket than the GMA scheme did with regard to the Monument.

As far as the interest of actors is concerned, the recent development schemes of both public spaces are highly beneficial for private actors by increasing their commercial benefit, improving the land values and turning these sites into up-market areas of the city centre. When compared to both

schemes to each other, this research found that the HBS scheme favoured the private interest more than the GMA scheme does. As well as the private interest, both cases benefited public actors by improving their political credit in the eye of the public. The HBS scheme, in particular, is also significant in terms of the entrepreneurial success of the NCC. As far as the public interest is concerned, the recent schemes also benefited the public by providing more attractive, cleaner, safer and healthier public spaces, which became the sources of pride for the city. Further, they contributed to the economic and urban regeneration of these parts of the city centre by helping to attract inward investment to these sites, creating new jobs, bringing under-used buildings back into use and therefore helping to bring back the economic vitality to these sites. With respect to these features, both schemes served the public interest. Yet, the new designs include the characteristics which considerably over-emphasise economic and symbolic values of the public spaces, and which undermine their psychological, social, political roles, as well as some of their physical functions. The new public spaces, with a strong stress on their economic and social roles, do not favour the public interest as much as they used to do. One of the main reasons which brought about this end is the city centre regeneration and city marketing policies, which turned both the HBS and the GMA into means to help the regeneration and revitalisation of the city centre and to contribute to the construction of the new and positive image of Newcastle to market itself to find a new niche in competitive urban markets. Another reason which led to the over-emphasis on economic and symbolic roles of these public spaces is the attempt to use them to increase consumption. Finally, the tendency towards using public spaces as instruments to generate economic value for the private space surrounding them, and thus to produce profit for some groups (such as land and property owners, developers and investors) is another reason which led to the strong emphasis on economic and symbolic roles of the HBS and the GMA.

The analysis of both public spaces revealed that the GMA scheme comprised the elements which emphasise the economic and symbolic roles of the public spaces more than the HBS did. In this sense, the scheme promoted the GMA as tools of urban regeneration and city-imaging and marketing policies more than the HBS scheme did. With regard to these characteristics, the GMA scheme undermines the 'publicness' of the public space more that the HBS scheme does.

In both cases, one of the main common reasons for the creation of the public spaces with an over-emphasis on its economic and symbolic roles is the lack of a public forum which was open to all segments of the public throughout the development processes. The examination of each case reveals that the predominant users of the public spaces (i.e., the primary and daily users) were mostly absent in the development processes. Hence, the key design principles, which gave the major characteristics to the public spaces, were not determined in a public forum through

interactions between all segments of the public and public actors. In other words, they were not the outcomes of the reconciliation with, or the consent of the majority of private and public actors. This brought about the domination of certain actors in the decision-making processes, which created the public spaces that favour the private interest more than they used to do.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the examination of the 'publicness' of the new-generation public spaces with a special reference to Newcastle. First, it reminds readers of the initial focus of the research, the research questions and propositions, and research methodology. Second, it summarises the findings of the research. Then, it seeks to outline and explain the theoretical and practical implications of the research. This chapter also seeks to clarify advantages and disadvantages of the public spaces model put forth by this research. Finally, it makes some recommendations for the future researches.

9.2 The initial focus of the research

Public spaces, which have been one of the crucial parts of cities for centuries, have become subject to broad concern for more than two decades (Francis, 1987; Carr, et. al., 1992; Tibbalds, 1992; Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993, Madanipour, 2000). Particularly under the domination of globalisation and privatisation, attractive and alluring public spaces have been placed at the centre of the major 'world cities', and the 'old-industrial cities' competing to find a niche in the urban markets (Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993; Hubbard, 1995; McInroy, 2000; Madanipour, 2000). Starting from the late-1970s, the significance of public spaces has also been increasingly recognised in Britain, particularly through a number of flagship projects pioneered by the Conservative Governments in order to revitalise and regenerate the derelict lands of industrial estates, declining waterfronts and city centres (Sadler, 1992; Crilley, 1993; Goodwin, 1993; Hubbard, 1995; Hall and Hubbard, 1996). In the 1990s, the Labour Governments have also increasingly promoted the importance of 'well-designed' and 'well-maintained' public spaces, as well as the improvement of declining and decaying public realms in cities, by publishing new policy documents, generating new funds and launching new public space schemes (Hubbard, 1992; The Urban Task Force, 1999; DETR, 2000; Thompson, et. al., 2001). As well as the central government, a number of local authorities have shown their concern about public spaces by preparing plans with emphasis on imaginative investment in the public realm through the

provision of art, landscaping and public facilities, the creation and maintenance of the vitality of city streets and the enhancement of public streets (Punter, 1990). This recent rising interest is a promising sign for the British cities and their public spaces, which had suffered from decline and decay for a while. Nevertheless, it raises remarkable questions about the 'publicness' of the new-generation public spaces. Following these questions, this PhD research focuses on the problem of the 'publicness' of the public spaces in Britain in the 1990s with a special reference to Newcastle upon Tyne.

9.3 Research questions and propositions

The major research question of this thesis is how far the new-generation public spaces are 'public', especially the ones which were constructed in the last decade of the 20th century within the context of regeneration and revitalisation projects of city centres driven by city-marketing and re-imaging strategies. Behind this question, there are a number of research questions which this study seeks to address. One of them is how the 'publicness' of a public space can be assessed. This question brings about the need to show, first, how this research approaches the concept of 'space', second, how it defines 'public space' and 'private space' and third, how it describes the relationship between public space and private space. As a response to the first question, this study has adopted a concept of 'space' as a four-dimensional entity; i.e., an outcome of time, a product of a process. On this basis, the research proposes that it is necessary to define space in conjunction with the 'time' dimension, i.e. its development and use processes; which can be studied as four phases: i) planning and design, ii) construction, iii) management and maintenance, and iv) use (Figure 3.6).

As a response to the second question, this research draws on the framework developed by Benn and Gaus (1983) who describe the concepts of 'public' and 'private' through the criteria of 'access', 'agency' and 'interest'; Madanipour (1995) who examines the 'publicness' of The Metro Centre in Gateshead by using these three criteria; and Habermas and his 'public sphere' theory. Consequently, it seeks to define 'public space' and 'private space' as four-dimensional concepts, which can be studied through three criteria, i.e. 'access', 'actor' and 'interest' (Figure 3.8).

Finally, this research approaches the relation between public and private space as a continuum, rather than a dichotomy. In other words, it considers this relation as a matter of a degree, instead of a dichotomous separation (Figure 3.10).

On the basis of the explanations above, the major proposition of this research is that the extent of the 'publicness' of the public spaces which were constructed in the 1990s within the context of city centre regeneration and rehabilitation projects driven by city-marketing and re-imaging policies can be evaluated through three major criteria; i.e., 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. More specifically, this research proposes that, with regard to the criterion of 'access', how far a public space is 'public' depends on how far public space is open to everyone; and how far the activities and discussions or intercommunications in, and the information about the development and use processes and the resources of public space were/are open to all. Regarding the criterion of 'actor', this study puts forth the proposition that how far a public space is 'public' is dependent on the public-private nature of the actors which control the development and use processes. In other words, how far a public space is 'public' depends on how far it is owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed and maintained by public actors; and how far it is used by the public. As far as the public-private nature of the actors, which are involved in the development and use processes, are considered, this research argues that how far a public space is 'public' depends on how far the public and public actors are involved in the planning, design, construction, management and maintenance phases. In other words, this research proposes that how far a public space is 'public' depends on how far the space is developed through the presence of a public forum, in which the public and public actors are involved in order to express, exchange and influence opinions with regard to the public space which is to be built. Concerning the criterion of 'interest', this study argues that how far a public space is public depends on how far the newly built public space serves the 'public interest'. A number of definitions are used to describe what the public interest is. On the basis of the discussions in section 3.4.2.1.3 which includes the opinions of several scholars, this study defines the public interest as 'the interest which is in the best interests of all members of the society'; 'the interest which is common to, or shared by everyone', 'the benefit of something which is equally important for everyone, no matter what the role of each individual is'; 'the interest which is determined in the public realm through discussions made by the public and public actors'; 'the outcome of the consent of the majority of public and private actors'.

9.4 Research methodology

A multiple-case study method was used as a research strategy for this study. The case studies of the research were carried out in Newcastle, since it is a significant example of British cities with regard to several new and attractive public spaces which were recently produced in the city centre. Newcastle is also notable in terms of the increasing concern of the local authority with the improvement of public spaces of the city centre. As the case studies of this research, two public

spaces were examined. These are the Haymarket Bus Station (HBS) and the Grey's Monument Area (GMA), both of which are the major public space improvement schemes of the 1990s in the city centre of Newcastle. Additionally, they are the products of the regeneration of the city centre and the effort of building a new image for Newcastle to market the city to find a place in the competitive urban markets.

Two major data sets were collected for the empirical part of this research. The first is the data set which focused on the context within which the 'publicness' of both public spaces were investigated. It included the transition of Newcastle from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrial city, the recent regeneration policies, strategies and schemes which focus on the city centre, and the roles of public spaces within these policies, strategies and schemes. The second set of data focused on the two public spaces. It included the data about the development and use processes of the public spaces with regard to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. The sources of evidence which were used for the data collection of the research are documents, archival records, interviews and direct observations.

The first data set which is mentioned above was used to define the context of the phenomenon under investigation and thus to bring a better understanding to the analysis of the 'publicness' of the public spaces. The second set of data was used to analyse the 'publicness' of each public space separately and individually under four stages of development and use processes through the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. This part of the analysis constituted three sub-parts. The first sub-part of the analysis described the location of both the HBS and the GMA in the city centre and their history. This part also included the analysis of the 'publicness' of both public spaces before the development schemes took place according to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. Besides, it explained the problems of these public spaces in order to see whether these problems were resolved after the recent development schemes. The second sub-part of the analysis focused on the examination of the 'publicness' of the recent development and use processes of both the HBS and the GMA under four stages: i) planning and design, ii) construction, iii) management and maintenance, and iv) use through the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. As for the third sub-part of the analysis, the 'publicness' of each case before and after the development schemes was examined in order to see whether the redevelopment schemes of these public spaces improved or worsened their 'publicness'.

After the examination of the 'publicness' of each case individually and separately, both the HBS and the GMA were compared to each other in order to see literal replication; i.e., to find

similarities and differences with regard to the change in their 'publicness', particularly after the recent development schemes were undertaken.

As mentioned earlier, four major sources of evidence were used to carry out this research. The first source of evidence is documents which constitute letters, memoranda, agendas, announcements and minutes of meetings, and other written reports of events, administrative documents (i.e. proposals, progress reports, and other internal documents), formal studies or evaluations of the same 'site' under study, newspaper clippings and other articles appearing in the mass media and websites related to the projects and the agencies which are under investigation. The second data sources of this research are archival records which include maps and photos of the case study sites, list of names of actors which were involved in the development processes of case studies, archaeological survey data of case study areas, and personal records, such as diaries, calendars and telephone lists. Another data source of this research is interview, carried out with the actors which are/were involved in the development and use processes of these public spaces. Finally, direct observation is the last source of evidence which is used as a 'supplementary' technique for this research. The researcher observed both sites in different times of week and took notes and photos. The observations of the early stages of the research were unfocused and general in scope. Yet, in the later stages of the research, observations became more 'focused'. It should be noted that the direct observation was not carried out to produce qualitative data.

9.5 Findings

The study of the 'publicness' of two public spaces which were developed in the 1990s in the city centre of Newcastle revealed that, before the development schemes took place, both the HBS and the GMA were busy day and night as the communication and transportation nodes, and thus lively and vivid social environments. The GMA differed from the HBS in terms of its symbolic importance with its historical and cultural artefacts. It was one of the most striking streets of Newcastle with the attractive historical buildings and the Grey's Monument which used to provide visual variety and enhance the aesthetic quality of the city. In spite of its glamour of the private realm, the public space, with its street pavement material and street furniture, looked simple and ordinary, just like the other parts of the public spaces in the city centre. This is one of the common points of both examples, since the public space of the HBS did not have any distinguished appearance either. Other common points are the physical problems that both public spaces used to suffer from, such as traffic congestion, conflicts between pedestrian and vehicular traffic, poor quality of public space, as well as urban and economic decline due to the lack of developers, investors and occupiers. Despite the similar problems, the problems and the

appearance of the HBS showed the indications of the need for improvement more than the public space of the GMA did.

Led by the city centre regeneration policies, city-marketing and re-imaging strategies, both public spaces, which were redeveloped in the 1990s, turned into 'good-looking' and 'well-maintained', but 'less' public spaces than they used to be. To a certain degree, macro-scale policies produced this outcome; yet, the major contribution was made through the recent development schemes of these public spaces, which were carried out through public-private partnerships with a limited involvement of primary and daily users of the public spaces. The HBS and GMA improvement schemes were different from each other in terms of the dominance of public and private actors in public-private partnerships. For the GMA, the GT Partnership was dominated by public and semi-public actors. However, there was a more balanced involvement of public and private actors in the public-private partnership of the HBS scheme. Despite the presence of this difference, the development of both public spaces through public-private partnership blurred the public-private distinction of the space, and reduced their 'publicness'.

Both cases were also similar in terms of key actors which led to the development processes. A small group of public and private actors which mainly constituted the developers and landowners of the sites and the private professional consultants played key roles in the development processes. The involvement of the private actors in the development processes blurred the public-private distinction of the space and decreased the 'publicness' of these public spaces. Nevertheless, the involvement of public actors, with their leading, regulatory and entrepreneurial roles, improved the 'publicness' of these places. Public actors led the promotion of the HBS and the GMA as means of urban regeneration, city-imaging and city-marketing policies. Additionally, they encouraged the use of both spaces as instruments which would generate profit for certain groups; in other words, they commercialised these public spaces to an extent. Consequently, they led the development of the public spaces with a strong emphasis on the economic and symbolic roles. These public spaces with such qualities became the environments which served the private interest more than they used to do before. With regard to the involvement of public actors, this is a significant common feature, which reduced the 'publicness' of these public spaces. Another common characteristic which undermined the 'publicness' of these public spaces, is the collaborative and co-operative roles of the local authority with some stakeholders of the improvement schemes rather than all segments of the public. The poor collaboration of the local authority with all segments of the public brought about the insufficient public involvement in the development processes of these public spaces; and thus significantly undermined their 'publicness'.

As far as the management and maintenance of the public spaces are concerned, this research showed that, although both cases are publicly managed and maintained, there are some components, which blur the public-private distinction of these spaces, and thus reduce their 'publicness'. The analysis of the new management policies also revealed that, even though these policies improve the safety, cleanliness and attractiveness of these places, and thus serve the public interest, they tend to promote gentrification, social stratification and fragmentation, and social exclusion, to some extent, especially due to the increasing control imposed on the space. These policies significantly promote the symbolic and economic roles of both public spaces, by helping and encouraging their use as means of the city centre regeneration, city-imaging and city-marketing policies; and as tools to generate profit for certain groups, such as landowners, developers and investors, and thus causing their commercialisation. With regard to these aspects, the new management policies undermine the 'publicness' of these public spaces to a degree.

When the users of these public spaces are examined, this research found that pedestrians, shoppers, and bus and metro passengers are still the predominant users of these places. The working population of the private and public spaces, which constitute business groups specialised in retailing, professional, financial and leisure services, and their employees, as well as bus companies, hackney carriages, street traders, are among the main users of the Haymarket and the Monument. This research found that the users of the GMA include a wider variety than those of the HBS. Apart from the users mentioned above, the GMA also accommodates street performers, people protesting ideas, making sale promotions, advertising and publicity campaigns. In this sense, the GMA seemed to be more 'public' than the HBS.

Despite this difference, both public spaces are highly accessible. Their physical accessibilities have been remarkably improved thanks to recent development schemes. But, the new designs comprise some features which reduced to some extent the physical accessibility of the new public spaces. Some of these features are the failures of the new designs. The others, however, are the design principles which reduced the physical accessibility of these places by changing their user profile. They led to certain groups being pushed out of these public spaces, restricted certain activities from occurring in these public spaces. Consequently, they reinforced gentrification, social exclusion, social stratification and fragmentation to a degree; and reduced the physical accessibility of these public spaces.

As far as the interest of actors is concerned, the recent development schemes of the HBS and the GMA are highly beneficial for private actors by increasing their commercial benefit, improving

the land values and turning these sites into up-market areas of the city centre. This research found that, especially developers, investors, land and property owners, up-market retail and other business groups trading and operating in the city centre, affluent groups and tourists significantly benefited and will benefit from these public realm schemes. In addition, in a wider context, business interests which include the financial industry, the construction industry and estate agencies are benefiting and will benefit through the improved images of these areas which have boosted the development activities in the private spaces around the Haymarket and the Monument. In this sense, both public realm schemes remarkably serve the private interest. This research found that the HBS scheme favoured the private interest more than the GMA scheme does. When the interest of public actors is concerned, both schemes were also beneficial for public actors. They improved their political credit in the eyes of the public. The HBS scheme, in particular, is also significant in terms of the entrepreneurial success of the NCC.

As for the public interest, the recent development schemes also benefited the public. They provided not only more attractive, cleaner, safer and healthier public spaces, but also two remarkable sites in the city centre, which became the sources of pride for Newcastle. Further, these schemes contributed to the economic and urban regeneration of these parts of the city centre by helping to attract inward investment to these sites, creating new jobs, bringing under-used buildings back into use and therefore helping to bring back economic vitality to these sites. These outcomes of both schemes significantly improved the public interest. Yet, the recent schemes gave rise to the creation of the public spaces where the economic and symbolic values are considerably over-emphasised, whereas their psychological, social, political roles, as well as some of their physical functions are undermined. The new public spaces with such characteristics start to serve the public interest less than they used to do. One of the prominent reasons which brought about this outcome is the city centre regeneration and city marketing policies. Through the recent development schemes, both the HBS and the GMA became means to help the regeneration and revitalisation of the city and to contribute to the construction of a new and positive image for Newcastle to market itself to find a new niche in competitive urban markets. Another remarkable reason for the creation of such public spaces is the attempt to use them in order to increase consumption more than they used to do. At last, the tendency towards using public spaces as instruments to generate economic value for the private spaces surrounding them, and thus to produce profit for some groups (such as land and property owners, developers and investors) brought about the development of the public spaces with a strong emphasis on their economic and symbolic roles. Despite the contribution of these public space improvements to the public interest, this research shows that, after these recent schemes, the new public spaces became the environments which favour the public interest less than they used to do before.

When both public spaces are compared to each other with regard to their 'publicness', the GMA seemed to be more 'public' than the HBS. First of all, through the GMA scheme, a wider variety and larger number of public and private actors were involved in the planning and design process, compared to the HBS. Second, the private actors, which took part in this case (i.e., private professional consultants) were less dominant in the development process than those of the HBS. In other words, in the GMA, there was a more balanced impact from public and private actors on the design scheme, whereas the private actors were notably dominant in the development of the Haymarket. Another difference between these cases which shows the GMA as a more 'public' example is that the private actors which were involved in the GMA scheme did not gain direct private benefits in relation to the public space, as the private actors, such as M&S and the S&N Breweries, did in the HBS. As a result, the design of the GMA does not favour particular private interest (such as the interest of M&S), as the HBS' new layout does. Moreover, this research found the indications of the privatisation of the provision and management of the HBS, while it could not trace any sign of privatisation for the GMA. This is another point which underlies the higher degree of the 'publicness' of the GMA, compared to the HBS. Further, the new management policies reduced the 'publicness' of the HBS more than the 'publicness' of the GMA due to the stricter control imposed on the public space of the HBS which decreased the physical accessibility of the HBS more than it does with regard to the GMA. Subsequently, it promotes gentrification, social stratification and fragmentation, and social exclusion more than the GMA does. This research also found that the HBS comprises the design principles which reduced the physical accessibility of the public space more than the GMA does. Additionally, the examination of two cases showed that the impact of the HBS scheme on the gentrification of the site was stronger than the impact of the GMA scheme on the gentrification on the Monument and its environs. In this sense, the new design of the HBS also promotes gentrification, social exclusion, social stratification and fragmentation more than the new design of the GMA does. Thus, it reduced the physical accessibility of the Haymarket more than the GMA scheme did for the Monument. Regarding these features, the HBS exemplifies a less 'public' space than the GMA.

Yet, this research found that the GMA is a sharper example in terms of the promotion of the public space as means of city centre regeneration led by city-imaging and city-marketing policies. The analysis of management policies and the new designs of both public spaces revealed that the GMA scheme comprised elements which emphasise the economic and symbolic roles of the public spaces more than the HBS did. In this sense, the management policies and design of the GMA promote the Monument and its environs as means of urban regeneration, city-imaging and marketing policies more than the HBS scheme does. In these aspects, the GMA scheme

undermines the 'publicness' of the public space more than the HBS scheme does. Compared to the HBS, the GMA is also a stronger example with regard to the commercialisation of the public space through management policies.

The general point that can be drawn from the two cases and be extended to recent public space developments in other British cities, is that public spaces which are developed through public-private partnership and under the pressure of the city centre regeneration and city-imaging and marketing policies become attractive, well-maintained, more organised, and controlled, safer, but less 'public' spaces than they used to be. Particularly with their strongly emphasised economic and symbolic roles, they reinforce, to some degree, gentrification, social stratification and fragmentation and social exclusion. One of the main common reasons for the creation of such public spaces is the lack of a public forum which is open to all segments of the public throughout the development processes of these places. Public spaces which are developed in the absence of their predominant users (i.e., the primary and daily users), but under the dominance of a small group of public and private actors favour the private interest more than they used to do, while serving the public interest less than they used to do before.

9.6 Implications

9.6.1 Theoretical implications

This research sought to show once more the significance of approaching space as a four-dimensional entity rather than a three-dimensional entity. It tries to emphasise the importance of investigating space with respect to its development and use processes (which can be classified under different sub-headings) in order to have a better understanding about it. Second, this research sought to show that it is possible to investigate the 'publicness' of public spaces with the help of the public space model which is suggested by this PhD study. More specifically, it showed that it was possible to make an in-depth and systematic analysis of the 'publicness' of public spaces with respect to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest' by focusing on their recent redevelopment and use processes. By classifying these processes under four stages (i.e., a) planning and design, b) construction, c) management and maintenance, and d) use), this research also indicated that it was possible to introduce a time dimension into the analysis of the 'publicness' of public spaces. By bringing together the time-dimension and three criteria of the concepts of 'public' and 'private' into the analysis of the public space, this research sought to show that our understanding about the 'publicness' of public spaces can be more detailed, systematic and in-depth.

Further, the public space model of this research proposed a clear separation between 'public actor', 'private actor' and 'the public'. Here, the definitions of 'public actor' and 'private actor' are borrowed from the work of Benn and Gaus (1983). By defining the public as the aggregate of private actors, this research tried to underline the need for a definition of 'the public' for contemporary societies which become more and more cosmopolitan, and which increasingly contain a heterogeneous population that is made up of individuals who do not bear any organic relation to each other. Hence, the description of 'the public' which is suggested by the model sought to show us that the definition of 'the public' should be revised according to the changes that societies experience.

Fourth, the public space model also tried to show that it was possible to set a relation between the definitions of 'public space' and the concept of the 'public sphere' of Habermas. By defining 'public space' as a space which is developed through the presence of a public forum, in which the public and public actors are involved, in order to express, exchange and influence opinions with regard to the public space which is to be built, this research tried to underline the crucial importance of the public participation in the development of public space. It should be noted that public space, public realm and the public are three inevitable components of the public life and urban life of societies. This research sought to underline the fact that even though societies change, the close relationship between these three concepts will not change.

This research also sought to underline the importance of setting a relationship between the definition of 'the public interest' and the concept of 'the public sphere' of Habermas. Different from the rational planning approach which recognises the public interest as the concern of specialists and determined through scientific methods, this research agrees with Friedmann (1987) who argues that 'the public interest' is not under the sole sovereignty of scientific methods and experts, and it cannot be determined without the public. Following this idea, this research defined the public interest as 'the interest which is determined through the discussions made by the public and public actors'; and 'the outcome of the consent of the majority of public and private actors'. Again, by using the concept of 'public sphere' of Habermas, this research sought to emphasise the importance of public participation in the determination of 'what the public interest is'. Additionally, it tried to point out the significance of 'collaborative planning' in the development of public spaces in order to serve the maximum benefit for the public.

Another theoretical implication is based on a finding of this study. which suggests that it is important to define the 'public interest' in specific relation to six roles of public spaces. The study sought to underline the fact that public spaces play crucial physical, psychological, social,

economic, political and symbolic roles in urban life. Subsequently, this research pointed out the importance of preserving the balance between six roles that public spaces constitute. Otherwise, they cannot serve the public interest. By becoming aware of a relationship between the six roles of the public spaces and the public interest, this research sought to underline, therefore, the importance of securing the public interest, by producing public spaces which maintain a proper balance between their physical, psychological, social, economic, political and symbolic roles.

Moreover, this research also sought to show that the separation between public space and private space in our contemporary cities is not sharp. There are various extents of 'publicness' and 'privateness' of both public space and private space. Finally, this research proposed a public space model. Although this PhD study used the model in order to assess the 'publicness' of the public spaces which were developed within the context of city centre regeneration schemes and city-marketing and re-imaging policies, this model is applicable to other public spaces which are developed in different contexts in order to assess their 'publicness'.

9.6.2 Practical implications

It is possible to underline a number of practical implications from the findings of this research. First of all, this study seeks to underline the principle that public spaces should be places which are owned, designed, developed, managed and maintained by public actors, and the intervention of private actors in any of these activities will reduce the 'publicness' of public spaces. On this basis, public authorities should be aware of this principle in order to create public spaces which are in the maximum interest of the public.

Second, this research seeks to underline the significance of public involvement in the development of public spaces. Without a considerable public participation, it is not possible to create a public space serving the public interest. At this point, the creation of a public forum for public involvement plays a crucial role. Particularly public authorities should be responsible for the creation of a public forum by holding public meetings, making surveys and questionnaires, and carrying out standard public consultation. The British planning system does not require public consultation, as far as the development of a public highway is concerned. This is an important gap in British planning regulations with regard to public space development. It is not possible to accept the development, change and modification of public space which is mainly used by the public without public consultation.

Third, this research points out the use of public spaces as means of regeneration city centres and constructing a new and positive image for cities to market themselves in the global world. The use

and promotion of public spaces towards such purposes are not detrimental acts. In fact, they offer an opportunity for cities to improve the quality of public spaces. Yet, it is essential that city centre regeneration schemes and city-imaging policies should consider the importance of creating inclusive public spaces. The targets of these policies should be balanced with everyday local social realities. There is a need to study public spaces within the context of daily life and the needs of local people in order to acknowledge and accommodate the variety of local perspectives and needs. Again, this is mainly possible by creating a public arena which is accessible to all segments of the public in order to express, exchange and influence opinions about the design of public space throughout the development process.

As mentioned several times in this research, one of the outcomes of the use and promotion of public spaces within the context of city centre regeneration and city-marketing policies result in the creation of 'well-designed' and 'well-maintained' public spaces. They become more exclusive and distinctive settings within the landscape of city centres. The use and promotion of public spaces for the purpose of urban regeneration and city-imaging policies can bring about positive consequences to localities. New public spaces which are attractive, well-maintained and distinctive can increase the aesthetic quality of city centres, improve the good image of these places and therefore attract investment to cities. Besides, they can help the creation of new jobs, bring under-used buildings back into use and thus help to bring back economic vitality to these sites. Yet, it should be noted that the effect of the new landscape of these public spaces should be beneficial for all. In this sense, local authorities should be very careful about the development of new public spaces which serve in the interest of all the fragments of the public, rather than certain segments of population such as developers, investors, affluent groups and tourists.

Local authorities should be also careful about the negative implications of exclusive and distinctive public spaces in city centres. As this research underlines, with the new design and management policies, new public spaces become the environments which welcome more affluent groups, and thus they reinforce gentrification, social stratification and social exclusion. These are also strengthened by local authorities which increasingly impose control on public spaces. Such public spaces mainly cause the creation and development of exclusive city centres which predominantly serve certain fragments of the population. In other words, they lead to the rise of undemocratic city centres and public spaces. If local authorities want to regenerate and revitalise city centres, they should create city centres, and public spaces which serve a 'heterogeneous' public. So, they should encourage the development of mixed-use functions which serve the needs of all segments of the population. This could be one of the main solutions for the creation of lively, colourful and democratic city centres and public realms.

It is also important to keep the balance between city centres and their peripheries. There is a wide recognition that regeneration and city-marketing policies can bring economic improvement to cities. It should be noted that these policies can change city centres as expected, while the periphery of city centres can still suffer from social deprivation, poverty, crime and other social problems such as social fragmentation and social exclusion. In this sense, local authorities should be careful about broader implications of image-led regeneration schemes, which could enhance the development of the 'dual city'. Thus, local authorities should be more cautious when they use and promote public spaces in order to create exclusive and distinctive looking urbanscape to attract inward investment, investors, developers, affluent groups and tourists, and to increase the competitiveness of cities in urban markets. They should be aware of the fact that urban regeneration cannot be only achieved by up-grading the physical fabric and revitalising the economy of the locality. Social regeneration is also as important as urban and economic regeneration in order that localities achieve a long-term benefit from urban regeneration schemes. Thus, instead of extravagant budgets towards creating distinctive and exclusive public spaces in city centres, local authorities should also channel public money into the periphery of city centres, disadvantaged areas and neighbourhoods which suffer from urban, economic and social decline and the multiple-effects of these problems. It should be noted that localities can only benefit, as long as they achieve a balance between economic, physical and social regeneration.

Within this context, it is also very important for local authorities to have a comprehensive approach to the improvement of public spaces of city centres. Instead of designing and improving individual public spaces within regeneration schemes, local authorities should develop comprehensive and integrated strategies for the whole public spaces of the city to make them more lively, colourful, healthier, safer, cleaner and higher standards in terms of aesthetic quality. These strategies should also target to develop and maintain public spaces which are integrated with each other and their surroundings. One more important point is that the comprehensive strategies for public spaces should be based on broader targets, such as reducing social fragmentation and social exclusion, improving and enhancing democracy and social justice within the city, contributing to the mental, psychological well-being of individuals, helping the formation of a heterogeneous society with multi-class and multi-cultural backgrounds, and creating a sense of continuity for societies. It should be noted that fragmented and piecemeal approaches which are not integrated to such broader issues underlined above will not bring long-term benefit for the creation of healthy, safe, democratic and lively public spaces and city centres.

Following the last point above, this research seeks to emphasize once more the importance of developing public spaces which perform their physical, psychological, social, political, economic and symbolic functions in balance. Public authorities should be aware of the multiple roles of public spaces, and they should show their effort to keep the balance between these functions in order to avoid the negative consequences, such as the confusion about local traditions, identities and practices, the fetishization of individual places, the creation of undemocratic public spaces which increase the tension between different groups, enhance social stratification and social exclusion.

Finally, this research invites attention to the new entrepreneurial role of public authorities. As this research points out in both cases, local authorities have increasingly played entrepreneurial roles in their planning practice. Although in some cases public authorities can finalise a very successful deal with the private sector on behalf of the public, public authorities are not supposed to act as private actors. Because their motivation is not to make profit, but to provide services which are not provided by the private sector.

9.7 The advantages and disadvantages of the model of public space

The model, which is introduced and used in this research, provides us with clear, detailed and sophisticated definitions of public space and private space. In addition, it provides us with a comprehensive approach for the concepts of public space and private space through which we are able to consider and analyse space as the product of a process. Further, by seeing the public-private relation as a continuous relation, the model also enables us to define the different extents of 'publicness' and 'privateness' that public and private spaces constitute.

Nevertheless, the model does not explain some details. For example, when private space is concerned with the criterion of 'actor', according to the model, it is possible to argue that private space is the place which is provided and controlled by private actors. Yet, according to the British planning system, private individuals must consult a public authority to make any major change to their private space. This is due to the fact that the planning system has nationalised the right to the development of land. The model does not explain why private individuals need to have the approval of a public authority, although they have control of their own private space.

Another point which this model does not explain is related to the issue of 'control'. Public space is the place which is controlled by laws, rules and formal codes of conduct, as well as informal codes. Jacob expresses this informal control imposed on public space as follows:

> ... the public peace –the sidewalk and street peace- of cities is not kept primarily by the police ... (*but*) by an intricate, almost unconscious network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves, and enforced by the people themselves... No number of police can enforce (*this peace*) ... where the normal, casual enforcement of it has broken down. (Jacobs, 1961: 31-32; italics added)

Reeve (1996: 74) underlines the same point, stating that "In both publicly and privately owned public places certain forms of conduct are both formally and informally proscribed and such proscriptions enforced by the state, as well as through informal codes of conduct peculiar to particular cultural settings and situations...". Although the public space model of this research defines public space as the place which is formally controlled by public actors, it cannot explain the control by the public which is informally enforced.

The definition of 'the public' which is proposed by this model can create confusion in certain circumstances, especially when we refer to private actor which is a group of people. This research defines 'the public' as 'people in general', 'all members of the society' or 'the aggregate of private actors'. As stated earlier, the public can comprise a variety and diversity of individuals and groups. This research also points out the importance of the size or the number of individuals and groups who/which are involved in order to define the concept of the public. In this sense, the bus passengers who use a bus station or the residents of a neighbourhood can be seen as the public, because they consist of the aggregate of private actors; they may include a variety of individuals and groups in terms of gender, income, ethnicity or age, and they include a big number of people. Yet, the bus passengers or the residents of a neighbourhood can also be described as private actors; because, according to the definition of this research, private actors can be groups of individuals such as females, children, disabled people, as well bus passengers and the residents of a neighbourhood. Additionally, the people who made up these 'private actors' act on their own account. In this sense, there is a need to add more descriptive variables to the definition of 'the public' in order to differentiate it from 'private actor' which refers to a group of individuals who act on their own account.

Finally, by defining 'the public' as the aggregate of private actors, the model does not refer to the meanings of 'a sense of sharing', 'a commonality' that the concept comprises. However, by describing 'the public' as the aggregate of private actors, the model provides us with a definition of 'the public' which is more suitable for contemporary societies. As modern society becomes

more and more cosmopolitan, it increasingly contains a heterogeneous population which is made up of individuals who do not bear any organic relation to each other, so the description of 'the public' which is suggested by the model enables us to define this kind of society as 'the public'. Moreover, the definition 'the public', which is put forth by the model, also helps us to define the users of the public spaces of cities which increasingly serve a cosmopolitan and heterogeneous population, as 'the public', such as the users of Trafalgar Square in London, The Champs-Elysée in Paris, and Times Square in New York.

9.8 Recommendations for future research

It is possible to make a number of recommendations for future research. First of all, it is possible to extend this research by studying another public space in Newcastle and comparing it with the two present examples. The 'publicness' of public spaces in the Quayside is worth studying and comparing with the present two cases. Because, the Quayside which has been regenerated since the 1980s was completely redeveloped by highly speculative and commercial, mixed-use flagship projects with the partnership of public and private sectors, and turned into a very exclusive and distinctive area at the periphery of the city centre of Newcastle. Additionally, public spaces of the Quayside are characterised with their good designs and maintenance. They are also significant in terms of their use as the marketing devices of Newcastle as a 'capital of culture', 'regional capital', 'service city', and 'party city'. Further, public spaces of the Quayside are interesting in terms of the places which were developed through the recent collaboration of two local public authorities (Gateshead Borough Council and Newcastle City Council). It is, therefore, possible to extend this research by studying another case in the Quayside to find similarities and differences of the 'publicness' of three public spaces in Newcastle which were developed within the context of the city centre regeneration and city-imaging and city-marketing policies.

Second, this research can be extended by focusing on a public space which was developed in the 1990s in another British city. The 'publicness' of this public space can be examined by using the public space model of this research, and the findings can be compared with the ones of the examples of Newcastle in order to produce a more compelling and robust research with regard to the 'publicness' of the new-generation public spaces of British cities. Yet, it should be noted that the case(s) which would be chosen for this purpose should be also redeveloped within the context of the city centre regeneration and city-imaging and city-marketing policies.

Third, the public space model which is used in this research can also be used in other research that focuses on the problem of 'publicness' of public spaces. For example, the public space model can

be used in order to investigate the question of the 'publicness' of public spaces in developing countries. It can be used to analyse the legislations, regulations and bylaws of different countries in order to find out how far they enable us to develop 'public' spaces according to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest'. Hence, it is possible to use the public space model of this research in different contexts in order to examine the 'publicness' of public spaces.

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Appendix A: Data collection guideline

DATA WHICH WAS COLLECTED	PURPOSE	SOURCE OF EVIDENCE
1. Data about the transition of Newcastle from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrial city: 1.1. Newcastle as a highly industrial city from the 18th century to the 1970s 1.2. Newcastle as a declining city during the 1970s and early-1980s (economic, social and urban decline) 1.3. Newcastle as a post-industrial city after the mid-1980s 1.3.1. Changes in the economy of the city after the mid-1980s 1.3.2. Image-building and city-marketing campaigns of the late-1980s and 1990s 1.3.3. The recent urban regeneration and redevelopment schemes which have focused on the city centre of Newcastle and which have gone hand in hand with the image-building and city-marketing campaigns 1.4. Visual documents (photos, maps)	In order to have a better understanding of city centre regeneration strategies, policies and programmes which will help us to investigate the 'publicness' of the 1990s public spaces developed in the city centre of Newcastle. In order to achieve this purpose, this set of data seeks to: ▪ describe the transition of Newcastle from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrialised city; ▪ show Newcastle as an old industrial city which has sought to change its image as a post-industrial city, and to market itself in order to attract inward investment, labour, tourists and affluent groups; ▪ show the recent changes in the urbanscape of the city centre of Newcastle through the urban regeneration and redevelopment schemes; ▪ show the role of the public spaces within the urban regeneration and redevelopment schemes which aim to revitalise and regenerate the city centre of Newcastle within the context of the city-marketing and re-imaging policies.	Documents and archival records
2. Data with regard to two public spaces in Newcastle (HBS and GMA): *2.1. The description of the 'publicness' of the public spaces before their redevelopment:* ▪ General information about the history of the public spaces ▪ The description of the 'publicness' of the public spaces with respect to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest' ▪ Visual documents (the layout, land-use maps and photos of the HBS and GMA before their redevelopment)	in order to make a comparison of the 'publicness' of the public spaces before the development schemes took place with the 'publicness' of the public spaces after the development schemes occurred	Documents, archival records and interviews
2.2. Data with regard to the recent development schemes of HBS and GMA: ▪ Detailed information about the recent design schemes of the public spaces regarding the aims and objectives, planning and design principles, financial resources and the actors which funded the schemes ▪ The design scheme of the new public spaces ▪ Photos during the development schemes of the public spaces		Documents, archival records and interviews

2.3. Data with regard to the development and use processes: ▪ The stages in the development and use processes (when they started and ended);	In order to: ▪ specify the time-period on which this research focuses for the analysis of the 'publicness' of the public spaces; ▪ describe the major phases of development and use processes and the activities taken place in each phase; ▪ introduce the time dimension into the analysis of space.	Documents, archival records and interviews
2.4. Data with regard to the 'publicness' of the public spaces in the recent development and use processes:	The major aim is to measure the extent to the 'publicness' of the public spaces	
2.4.1. Data with regard to 'access': ▪ ***The accessibility of the development process:*** o The ways that each actor accessed the activities and discourses of, and the information related to the development process (particularly planning and design phase) of the public spaces ▪ ***The accessibility of the management and maintenance phase:*** o The ways that each actor accesses the information related to the management and maintenance process of the public spaces; ▪ ***The accessibility of the use phase:*** o Whether the new public spaces are physically accessible to everybody, such as disabled people, teenagers, homeless people and so on. o Whether the activities and intercourses taking place in the new public spaces are accessible to everybody, such as disabled people, teenagers, homeless people and so on. o Whether the new public spaces as resources are open to everybody.	The main objective is to find out: 1. How far the activities and discourses of, and the information about the development and use processes of the public spaces are open to all; 2. How far the new public spaces are open to all. in order to show how far the development process (especially planning and design phase) of the public spaces was open to all. in order to find out how far the information related to the management and maintenance process of the public spaces is open to all. in order to see how far the newly-built public spaces, the activities and intercourses taking place on them, the information about them and their resources are open to all.	Interviews Interviews Direct observation
2.4.2. Data with regard to 'actor':	The major objective is to find out: 1. How far public actors owned, planned, designed, constructed, manage and maintain the public spaces; 2. How far the public uses the public spaces; 3. How far the public and public actors were involved in the activities and discussions of the planning and design of the public spaces.	

▪ ***The development process:*** o The actors which were involved in each stage of the process	in order to find out: ▪ the public-private nature of the actors which were involved in the planning, design and construction of the public spaces; ▪ how far the public, public actors and private actors were involved in the activities and discussions of the planning and design of the public spaces ▪ whether any group(s) was/were excluded in the development process	Documents, archival records and interviews
▪ ***The management and maintenance phase:*** o The actors which are involved in the management and maintenance phase of the public spaces	in order to find out: ▪ the public and private nature of the actors;	Documents and interviews
▪ ***The development process:*** o The roles of each actor: ▪ The responsibility or duty which each actor carried out in each phase of the development process; ▪ The needs and expectations of each actor with regard to the public spaces; ▪ The issues which were discussed during the development process which influenced in the design of the public spaces; ▪ The negotiations, conflicts, tensions among the actors with regard to the design of the public spaces; ▪ The public objections to the new design of the public spaces.	in order to find out: ▪ how far public and private actors owned, planned, designed and constructed the public spaces.	Interviews
▪ ***The management and maintenance phase:*** o The roles of each actor: ▪ The responsibilities or duty which each actor carries out in the management and maintenance of the public space	in order to find out: ▪ how far public actors and private actors are responsible for the management and maintenance of the public spaces.	Interviews
▪ ***The use phase:*** o The users' profile of the public spaces before the development scheme took place o The users' profile of the public spaces after the development scheme took place	in order to: ▪ find out whether the new public uses have enforced gentrification and social exclusion or not; ▪ compare the user types of the public spaces before with those after the redevelopment of the public spaces.	Interviews (for the users profile before the development scheme), documents, direct observation (for the users profile after the development scheme)

2.4.3. Data with regard to 'interest': ▪ The benefit of public actors, private actors and the public with regard to the new design and management of the public spaces; ▪ Whether the main design principles which gave the major characteristics of the site were determined in the public realm through the discussions of the public and public actors; ▪ Visual data (the design and land-use maps, and the photos of the public spaces after the development scheme took place)	The main objective is to find out: 1. The benefit(s) of private actors, public actors and the public; 2. The benefits that public actors got on behalf of the public; 3. How far the 'public interest' has increased or decreased after the redevelopment of the public spaces; 4. The balance between private interest and public interest has secured or not; 5. How far the major design principles were determined through the consent of the majority of public and private actors.	Documents, interviews and direct observation

Appendix B: The analysis of the public-private nature of actors for the case of the Grey's Monument Area

(1) The Public Art Steering Group consists of the representatives from the GT Partnership, the NCC, Northern Arts and Public Arts (The GT Project, 1999b; The GT Project, 2000a). As regards the public-private nature, the GT Partnership and Northern Arts are described as 'more public than private'; the NCC is a public actor; and Public Arts is a private actor. The presence of the NCC as the public agency gives the Public Art Steering Group the feature of a public actor. Yet, the presence of private and semi-public actors blurs the public-private distinction of the agency, and reduces its 'publicness'. Despite the presence of private and semi-public actors, the Public Art Steering Group acts in behalf of the citizens of Newcastle and local and central government agencies. Hence, the Public Art Steering Group shows the characteristics of a public actor. In this sense, it is 'more public than private'.

(2) North East Chamber of Commerce is a private company, set up by its members from the private sector (*North East Chamber of Commerce*, no date). In general, chamber of commerce is an organization consisting of people in business who work together to improve business in their town or local area (*Cambridge Dictionaries Online*, 2002). Since it acts on behalf of a group of private actors (i.e., a group of private business) rather than a community, city, commonwealth or state, it is a private actor.

(3) Newcastle Building Society is "a society in which the members periodically contribute to a fund out of which money may be lent to any of their number for the purpose of building (or purchasing) a house (*Welcome to OED Online*, no date). In other words, the building society is owned by a number of private actors and act on behalf of these private actors, rather than a community, city, commonwealth, or state. Hence, it is a private actor.

(4) The Newcastle Initiative (TNI) is a company which was launched in 1988 (Newcastle City Council and Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, 1988: 8). It is an agency, which is independent from the organisation of the public sector. This is an important aspect which gives it the character of a private actor. But, it is not absolutely a private actor. It contains the representatives from public and private organizations (mainly from business, academia and government) (Newcastle City Council and Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, 1988: 10). The presence of the public actors gives TNI the feature of a public actor. Additionally, aiming to regenerate the declining areas in the city centre, the company acts on behalf of the citizens of Newcastle and thus comprises the characteristics of a public actor (Newcastle City Council and Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, 1988: 8). However, the presence and dominance of private actors (particularly business groups) in TNI reduces its 'publicness' (Byrne, 2001: 355). In this sense, it is 'more private than public'.

(5) Bowey Group Ltd. is a private construction company (*Bowey Group Ltd.*, no date). Hence, it is a private actor.

(6) Chesterton Group is a private company performing a range of services from private consultancy to real estate agency, development company (*Chesterton Group*, no date).

(7) Dickinson Dees is a private law firm (*Dickinson Dees Law Firm*, no date). Hence, it is a private actor.

(8) One NorthEast is the Regional Development Agency; that is a central-government agency, which is "responsible for setting and implementing the agenda for economic and business development, regeneration and improvement in the North East of England" (*Welcome to One NorthEast Online*, no date). It aids private sector organisations "both in terms of broad issues such as competitiveness, innovation or e-business and moreover such industry-specific support such as supply chain development" (*Welcome to One NorthEast Online*, no date). It is a public actor.

(9) North East Civic Trust is a part of The Civic Trust which is a charity devoted to enhance the quality of urban space in British cities (*The Civic Trust*, no date). It is a private actor, since it is agency independent from the organisation of the public sector. But, it acts on behalf of the society. Hence, it is 'more public than private'.

(10) English Partnership is a central-government agency concerned with urban regeneration (The Grainger Town Steering Group, 1995). The agency which was established in April 1994, acts on behalf of central government (The Grainger Town Steering Group, 1995). It is considered to be the leading national development agency, specialised in industrial and commercial sites for economic regeneration purposes (Healey, et. al., unpublished). English Partnership provided the financial support delivered through City Grant and Derelict Land Grant with English Estates' substantial industrial and commercial property portfolio" (The Grainger Town Steering Group, 1995). It is a public actor.

(11) Northern Arts is one of the ten Regional Arts Boards which are each independent limited companies with charitable status (*What is Northern Arts?*, no date). Northern Arts is a private actor, because it is an agency independent from the organisation of the public sector. Yet, aiming to develop, sustain and promote the arts in England, it acts on behalf of the society (*What is Northern Arts?*, no date). In this sense, it is 'more public than private'.

(12) Northumbria Tourist Board is one of the ten regional tourist boards in England (*What is Northumbria Tourist Board*, no date). The regional tourist board is a 'company limited by guarantee', and funded by a mix of public and private sector contributions and through its own commercial activities (Select Committee on Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs, 2001). Since it is a non-governmental agency, it is a private actor. Additionally, despite the presence of the public sector agencies which give the board a certain extent of 'publicness', the presence of private sector agencies reduces its 'publicness'. Yet, aiming "to promote the sustainable development and effective operation in the regions, in partnership with local authorities, the industry and regional development agencies, its operation on the account of the society, as well as public and private sector agencies gives it some degree of 'publicness' (*Regional Tourist Boards*, 2002). Therefore, Northumbria Tourist Board is 'more public than private'.

(13) Tyneside Training and Enterprise Council (Tyneside TEC) is a company established by leading private sector companies in the Tyneside area in 1989 (*What is Tyneside TEC*, 2000). The company acted on behalf of private sector in the area by running training programmes, and encouraged the economic development of the area through enterprise development (*What is Tyneside TEC*, 2000). Therefore, it is a private actor.

(14) Housing association is "a society, body of trustees or company established for the purpose of ... facilitating or encouraging the construction or improvement of houses" (Burchfield, 1976: 175). A group of people who join together establishes housing association (*Cambridge Dictionaries Online*, 2002). In other words, it is an agency which acts on behalf of private individuals. Thus, it is a private actor. But, the purpose of housing association is to provide low-cost housing (*Cambridge Dictionaries Online*, 2002). The operation of these agency for this social purpose gives it certain extent of 'publicness'. In this sense, it is 'more public than private'.

(15) Newcastle Chronicle & Journal Ltd. is a private local newspaper company (*IC Newcastle*, 2002). It acts on its own account, therefore it is a private actor.

(16) L. Bonster Ltd. is the traders association which acts on behalf of the local business interest trading in Bigg Market (GT Project, 1998a). Thus, it is a private actor.

(17) Grainger Town Traders Association is the traders association which acts on behalf of the local business interest trading in Grainger Market. Hence, it is a private actor.

(18) Eversheds is an internationally recognised law firm (*About Eversheds*, no date). It is a private actor.

(19) As mentioned in Chapter 6, NEXUS is a public actor.

(20) Sir John Fitzgerald is a company of pubs and restaurants, acting on its own account (*About SJF*, no date). Thus, it is a private actor.

(21) Decoflair is a shop specialized on home and office furniture, located on Grey Street. Acting on its own account, it is a private actor.

(22) St. Andrew's Church acts as a part of Church of England, which is the official established church in England (Bahr and Johnston, 1994: 346). It is a non-governmental agency, with its own administrative organization. In this sense, it comprises the character of a private actor. Church of England is not an independent organisation, since the senior clergy of Church of England is appointed by the sovereign on the recognition of the Prime Minister (Room, 1990: 70). Thus, it is controlled by the state. Church of England acts on behalf of its members and believers, which is about 60% of the total population of Britain (Gwin, et. al., 1992: 98). In this sense, it acts on behalf of a high number and variety of people. Thus, it is 'more public than private'.

(23) Burdus Access Management is a private consultancy company which specialises in access surveys and other consultancies for arts organisation (*Burdus Access Management*, no date). Since it acts on its own account, it is a private actor.

(24) Newcastle Hackney Drivers Association is the association which acts on behalf of a specific group (i.e., private individuals operating hackney carriages in Newcastle). Hence, it is a private actor.

(25) Chinese Center Project was made up of the members of Chinese community in Newcastle (Newcastle Chinatown, no date). This is a small, but well-knit community, centred on the restaurant trade (Healey, et. al., unpublished: 16). Since the group acts only on the account of this small community in the city, then it is a private actor.

(26) Bainbridge, which is also known as The John Lewis Partnership, is one of Britain's leading department store groups (*VideoLogic DigiTheatre in John Lewis Department Store*, 2000). Since it acts on its own account, it is a private actor.

(27) Midland Bank plc was one of the largest banking and financial services organizations in the world. It is a part of HSBC, which is another British bank, HSBC (Author unknown, 2002i). Acting on its own account, it is a private actor.

(28) North East Landscape Group is a private practice (*North East Landscape Group*, no date). Acting on its own account, it is a private actor.

(29) The University of Newcastle is an independent high education organization (Author unknown, 1963: 126). It is a non-governmental agency acting on its own account; thus, it is a

private actor (Author unknown, 1963: 126). Yet, providing the highest level of education and research services, the operation of university on the account of the society give them a certain degree of 'publicness'. In this sense, University of Newcastle is 'more public than private'.

(30) Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) is a registered charity (*RIBA*, no date). It is an agency independent from the organisation of the public sector. Thus, it is a private actor. But, RIBA act on behalf of the society; since they act for "the advancement of architecture and the promotion of the acquirement of the knowledge of the arts and sciences connected therewith" (*RIBA*, no date). This provides them a certain degree of 'publicness'. Therefore, RIBA is 'more public than private'.

(31) As explained in Chapter 6, Northumberland and Newcastle Society is a registered charity. Thus, it is 'more public than private'. See Chapter 6, Footnote 6 for details.

(32) Tyne & Wear Fire Brigade is a local government authority which serve the Tyne and Wear area (*Tyne and Wear Fire Brigade*, no date). It is a public actor.

(33) Northumbria Ambulance Service is a part of National Health Services Ambulance Services (*Northumbria Ambulance Service*, no date). It is a public actor.

(34) The Automobile Association (AA) is a private company which gives breakdown services, sells motor insurance, gives personal and car loans (*The Automobile Association Limited*, 2001). It acts its own account. Therefore, it is a private actor.

(35) Royal Automobile Club is a private company which provides similar services that The AA does (*RAC*, 2002). Since it acts on its own account, it is a private actor.

(36) Freight Transport Association is a trade association which represents the transport interest of over 11,000 companies moving goods by road, rail, sea and air (*Freight Transport Association*, no date). It is a private actor.

(37) Cyclists' Touring Club is an organization, independent from the organisation of the public sector, and acting on the account of its members. In this sense, it is a private actor. But, Cyclists; Touring Club also acts on behalf of the society by lobbying government, local authorities and other agencies to promote, invest in and facilitate cycling (*Cyclists' Touring Club*, no date). This feature gives it a certain degree of 'publicness'. Thus, it is 'more public than private'.

(38) Disabled Forum, in general, is a local group or organization, offering help and support for people with a physical disability (*Northumberland County Council*, no date). Some of these organization are helped by County Council, but many are wholly independent local initiatives, or are sponsored by other public or voluntary bodies. In this sense, they are 'more public than private'.

(39) Royal Mail is a government-owned company (*Consignia to axe 2,100 jobs*, 2001). Therefore, it is a public actor.

(40) Road Haulage Association is a private company which provides dedicated campaigning, advice, information and business services specially tailored for the haulage industry (*Road Haulage Association*, no date). Thus, it is a private actor.

(41) The National Heritage Fund is granted by a public agency which is a 'non-departmental public body' (*Heritage Lottery Fund*, no date). That is, although it is not a government department, the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport ultimately answers to parliament for the way it works (*Heritage Lottery Fund*, no date).

(42) City Centre Management in Newcastle is a public-private partnership sponsored by the major retailers (Healey, et. al., unpublished: 21). City Centre Managements in Britain, in general, aims at providing certain public services (such as looking after the city's car park, litter removal, public space enhancement projects such as paving and landscaping and running the CCTV system, co-ordinating programme of events ranging from street theatre to festivals, sport and music events (Reeve, 1996: 72; Tiesdell and Oc, 1998: 86). It is neither a public, nor a private actor. The presence of the local authority in the partnership gives it a certain degree of 'publicness'. Yet, the presence of private actors (particularly the retailers benefiting to trade in the city centre) blurs the public-private distinction of the agency and reduces its 'publicness'. But, the agency acts on behalf of the city and the citizens. Additionally, aiming at economically revitalising city centres, it does not benefit only the retailers, but also all segments of the population using the city centre. Because the city centres which are economically and socially lively, clean and safe serve in the interests of all. In this sense, City Centre Management is 'more public than private'.

(43) The Theatre Royal is a registered charity (Newcastle City Council, 2002: 32). It is financially supported by the City Council (Newcastle City Council, 2002: 32). Hence, it is a 'more public than private' actor.